

IN THESE TIMES

Women's Series:
Raising Children

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VOL. 7, NO. 33

SEPTEMBER 7-13, 1983

\$1.25

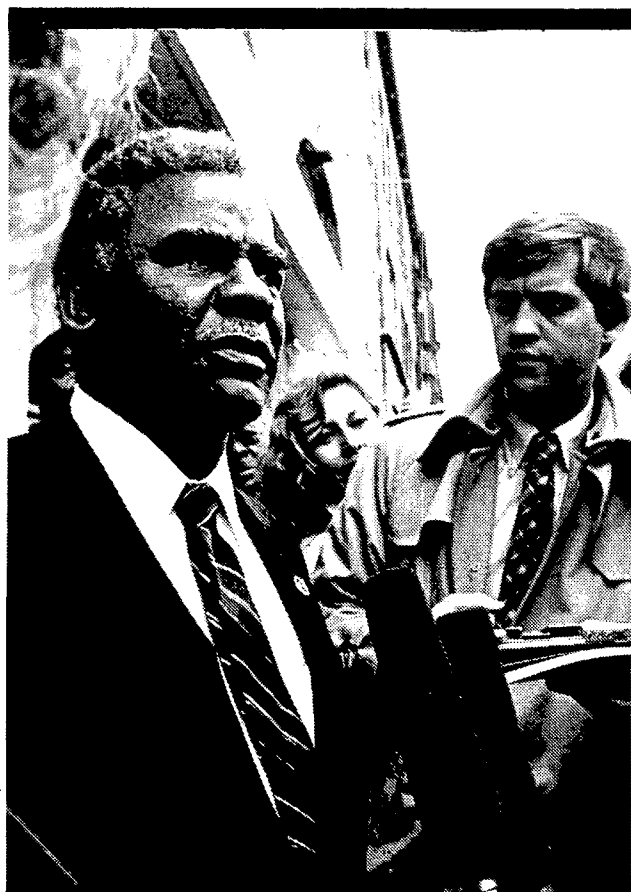
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THE INSIDE STORY



Even with adamant opposition from the City Council, Washington has brought change to Chicago.

Reform grows (slowly) in Chicago

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

It's been an uphill battle, fought against a hostile City Council majority faction, but Mayor Harold Washington is slowly, steadily bringing reform to this city's fabled government, for years marked by patronage, corruption and inside deals. Yet the changes have not come in a way many would have expected.

During his campaign last winter, Washington realized that his first task in office would be gaining control over city finances. Former Mayor Jane Byrne's \$2 billion budget was headed toward a \$135 million overall deficit—thanks to irresponsible budgeting, a politically motivated tax cut and a shortfall in predicted revenue. If Washington could not reverse that and head off an even bigger debt looming for next year, the city would be thrown in crisis, bond ratings would drop drastically and his more substantive plans for bringing jobs to unemployed Chicagoans would be jeopardized.

Washington took his case directly to the people in a July 25 television address. He had already frozen hiring, cut some salaries (including his own), laid off employees, refused to honor an unbudgeted 1982 back-pay agreement for skilled trades employees (beneficiaries of non-contractual "handshake" arrangements to pay prevailing construction worker rates) and enforced other economies. The state legislature provided \$13.7 million more revenue, mainly from an income tax increase that was far smaller than Washington had proposed.

But the city still faced grave problems. Washington told the TV audience that he could avert a deficit through more austerities (a 10 percent salary cut for most top executives, another 569 layoffs from a city workforce of 42,000 and controls of medical insurance costs), sale of city property (three aging parking garages) and cancellation of the scheduled \$22 million property tax cut that Byrne designed for her re-election campaign (and many believed she would have rescinded if she had won). If the City Council did not go along with this plan, he warned, he would have to lay off another 2,000 city employees on September 1.

Washington had good reason to have an alternative for an uncooperative Council. Since the beginning of his term, the Council has been dominated by a majority of 29 of the 50-member Council (now with one vacancy) that answers to Democratic Party Chairman

Alderman Ed Vrdolyak, who backed Byrne and, privately, Republican Bernard Epton against Washington. Vrdolyak had been hard at work, using his proverbial charm, playing on white Council members' fear of supporting a black mayor, crafting a new dispersal of Council patronage and relying on old machine ties to put together the majority, despite the Washington camp's efforts—not always handled very well—to fashion its own majority against great odds.

Since then it has become clear that Vrdolyak, close ally Ed Burke, the new finance chairman, and the "29" (often identified by the number on their lapels) are willing to resort to nearly anything to weaken the Washington administration and make it appear incapable of governing. The 29 have fought to lock in place patronage employees and defend the beneficiaries of their old deals. But they have also tried to appear to be reformers themselves, especially if the proposals seem to weaken the mayor. (Washington, for example, proposed future limits on campaign contributions by people doing business with the city and Burke proposed lowering the limit). At the same time, they have continued to stir up racial anxieties. (Vrdolyak told white community newspaper editors that Washington wanted to "blacken" the city and drive whites out.) But the ploys have not worked well. Recent polls confirm other observers' beliefs that a very large bloc of whites who did not vote for Washington have not lined up with Vrdolyak, but want to wait and see what Washington will do.

Thus far Washington has moved slowly, often giving Vrdolyak (not for nothing known as "Fast Eddie") the chance to appear as parallel mayor. And he has not always made clear why his program will benefit city residents, including most whites. But Washington has tallied a commendable reform record, beyond opening up public discussion of the budget: ending patronage, facilitating future unionization of city employees (while angering most existing city worker unions), issuing a freedom of information executive order, trimming waste, both demanding and, in some cases, inspiring more spirited, effective work from employees and shifting federal funds from administrative salaries to neighborhood improvements.

He has also gradually assembled an impressive staff that is well-balanced between appointments from inside the old administration and newcomers, men and women, and blacks, whites and Hispanics (although not enough to satisfy Hispanic supporters and still light on women). Among them is the city's first black police superintendent. The appointments are a curious mix: many are competent technocrats, relatively apolitical or more conservative than Washington (who was one of the most left members of Congress). They have begun the task of rationalizing city administration and improving efficiency in delivery of city services.

But there are also many left and liberal appointments who give a sense of where Washington wants to go once he gains financial and administrative control over the city. Robert Mier, Washington's choice to direct economic development, was opposed by downtown businesses as too left-wing and too committed to neighborhood development.

Mier, an academic who has advised community projects and worked on the Washington campaign, says that Washington wants to set a new primary standard for the city's economic development expenditures—jobs rather than revenue. That could mean de-emphasizing real estate speculation (leaving much of the central city office growth to market demand) and instead emphasizing

aid to the small manufacturers who were once the city's economic lifeblood and have long been neglected.

Much to the chagrin of the downtown financial powers, Mier and Washington intend to link economic development and training of the unemployed, possibly insisting that businesses receiving city help give the retrained workers first crack at new jobs. Under Washington, Mier says, the city will encourage minority and women entrepreneurs, cooperatives and worker or community-owned enterprises. But it will also insist that the city receive an investor's rights, responsibilities and financial return when it aids business, not simply relying on management goodwill to realize public aims or on taxes for the public's compensation.

Vrdolyak has tried to capitalize on business anxieties about Washington's plans, just as he has tried to exploit every possible line of attack on the new administration. There may be little consistency in his policies, other than defending the power and privilege of the old guard, but that is no problem: Vrdolyak embodies the view that politics is nothing but the play of private interests in a search for profit and power. Washington, by contrast, appears determined to break the mold radically by emphasizing a fair, open, rational government where benefits are distributed according to clearly articulated public policy.

The Vrdolyak-Burke strategy—and its limitations—emerged strikingly in the budget battle. From early in the administration, Burke argued that there was no real budget crisis, but gradually he revised his own figures upwards, eventually admitting that Washington's figures were basically correct. Yet he then argued that there were alternative means of reducing the shortfall—especially more vigorous collection of fines and other money owed the city. Washington accepted some of his proposals, but argued that Burke's estimates were exaggerated and not sufficiently certain to plan a budget. Burke offered a system of job furloughs, but Washington responded that it was unworkable, failed to address long-range financial problems and probably illegal.

When the Council majority refused to rescind Byrne's property tax cut (which would have saved the average owner of a \$60,000 home only \$25 a year), Washington immediately announced layoffs of 1,700 additional employees, including 332 police and 446 firefighters. But under a barrage of public outcry, the Vrdolyak 29 backed-pedaled, offering to restore \$11.9 million of the \$16.8 million in property tax needed to save jobs of city employees, many of whom live in their wards, bringing Washington closer to a full victory.

Eventually Washington will probably have to reduce the city workforce. But with more time, that can be done with greater precision and less personal hardship. Meanwhile, Washington has had to convince bond raters that he can control the city finances in the face of the opposition's obstructionism in order to prevent further drops in the city's rating—and higher interest payments.

Despite the legislative majority against him and its leaders' incessant attacks, Washington has been able to win on the most important issues except for City Council reorganization—although rarely in the way he would like. But as the city moves to a two-party system for the first time in decades—Washington's reformers and Vrdolyak's conservatives, reminiscent of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party split in 1968—Washington still has the formidable task, thus far forced on the back burner, of building lasting and expanded political support for the work that he has begun.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657, (312) 472-5700.

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IN THESE TIMES

Bernardin: peace, the Pope, women and church reform

By Robert McClory

CHICAGO

CARDINAL JOSEPH L. BERNARDIN has emerged recently as a figure of enormous stature in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church, and some of his admirers contend the 55-year-old prelate may yet become the first American Pope. During the past year, Bernardin not only took over as archbishop of this city's 2.3 million Catholics, but also expertly headed the committee that drafted the bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace. In that document, approved here in May, the bishops moved boldly into secular affairs, calling for immediate, bilateral agreements between the U.S. and the USSR to halt the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and strongly criticized a national policy based on a balance of terror.

In this exclusive interview with Robert McClory, special reports writer for the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, Bernardin discusses a range of topics including the followup on the pastoral letter, the role of church leaders in challenging administration foreign policy and a purported attempt by the FBI to discredit him. He also answers some pointed questions concerning the recent Vatican-ordered investigation of religious orders (viewed by many sisters as an effort to stifle reform), his concept of authority, his loyalty to Rome and even the recent hassle over his ban on girl servers at the altar.

As chairman of the bishops' committee that put the pastoral letter on peace together, are you satisfied with its final form?

I'm very pleased with the final outcome. It's a document that can stand on its own merits. I think the reaction to it has been good. We've received letters of commendation and support from practically every major religious group. The important thing now is the followup. I think interest in the topic is such that it will be used as an educational instrument.

We find that documents of this kind frequently take three to five years before they make their full impact. It may not take that long for this one because of the great interest, but it's not going to happen overnight. That was one of the concerns expressed in our meetings—that it was such a long, complex document that the average person wouldn't be able to digest it. We wrestled with that. We finally decided that to make this a credible document, we just couldn't do it in 10 or 12 pages. And so we said we have to do it this way. Therefore, we're not all that

concerned that people digest it overnight. We'd rather make sure it's integrated in various educational programs.

There was some concern that the final form of the letter was less specific than the strong second draft, that the bishops had backed down a bit.

Obviously, I'm somewhat prejudiced as chairman of the committee. I don't think the basic thrust was weakened. It may be true that some changes were made, but



the document approved at the meeting in Chicago was strong.

An example of weakening: in the second draft text the bishops explicitly expressed their opposition to the MX missile, but not so in the final document.

In the final document, the MX is discussed as a footnote. Now that does lessen its impact to some extent. And I think the wording is that the MX might or could be considered the sort of destabilizing weapon we are opposed to. The basic reason [for the footnote] is that there was a difference of opinion among the bishops...

Yet in the text you define very clearly the kind of weapon that cannot be tolerated, and the MX fulfills the definition perfectly. But then the name of the very thing you're talking about appears only in a footnote.

You see, we had close to 300 bishops, and I think the amazing thing is we were able to get such a strong consensus on the document. We had to engage in a certain amount of give and take to arrive at an agreement without changing the thrust. And I think we succeeded.

The big question now is how you communicate this message to the people. It's one thing to have lessons on it in Catholic schools, quite another to get it across to millions of adult Catholics.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) has established a committee to facilitate this work. Here in the Archdiocese of Chicago I gave the responsibility to Frank Kane [of the Office

of Social Justice]. He is working with other agencies to see how this document can be used at all levels, not just in schools, but in adult education programs, in other parish programs. They haven't come back to me yet with the plans, but the work is underway. This document will not just sit.

Besides the educational angle, are we going to see the Catholic bishops now pushing the issues raised by the peace pastoral in Washington? Can we expect some intense lobbying against what are seen as destabilizing missile systems and an over-emphasis on defense?

This document serves as a position paper for positions the NCCB will take in the future. For example, the conference gives testimony on the Hill frequently on a wide range of topics—human rights, social justice, social development. That's basically the responsibility of the USCC [United States Catholic Conference] Department of Social Development and World Peace. This document will provide

the basis for deciding at what point we may take a position on a specific piece of legislation or a specific government policy. I expect it will be used in this way. In fact, there was a possibility of my being asked by the conference to go to the Hill this summer to give some testimony relating to the pastoral. It didn't develop due to a delay or postponement or something. But if asked, I expect to do so.

Beyond that, can you foresee the bishops talking directly to the Catholic people and urging them to press their Congressmembers for or against certain bills insofar as they relate to the issues of the peace pastoral?

That's a possibility. I hesitate to say this will happen because it may not. What happens perhaps more frequently is that individual bishops together with their own justice and peace commissions will take a position.

It would be unusual to see bishops urging their people to deluge Congressmembers with letters.

"Several years ago, when the focus was on El Salvador, the voice of the Church was heard loudly and strongly. The position taken by the administration was muted as a result of that."

We've done it on other issues—on abortion, education, tuition tax credits.

Things more generally considered Catholic.

I maintain the abortion issue is not denominational; it's a human rights issue. Obviously, the Catholic Church as an institution is more identified with the issue than other churches. But I think the bishops' conference has played a very important role in the public dialog that has taken place on Central America. It has consistently followed a course quite different from that followed by the administration.

Our position is that the solution in that area should not be a military solution. It has to be a diplomatic solution, a negotiated settlement involving all the various forces in those countries. You have to nuance it differently for each country. At a point several years ago when the focus was on El Salvador, the voice of the Church was heard loudly and strongly. The position taken by the administration was muted somewhat as a result of that.

Is it all that clear the Church made a difference?

We can't say for sure it was a cause-and-effect thing. But I'm sure the Church element was one of the factors.

So, is the U.S. Catholic Church today possibly muting the escalation of the conflict in Nicaragua?

I don't know. The situation in Nicaragua is very complex. Our conference is on record as saying the solution should not be a military one, saying we should not be en-

Continued on page 10

INSHORT

Forgive them their trespasses

Two Chicago priests and an army warrant officer who sneaked into the barracks at Fort Benning, Ga., to encourage the 525 Salvadorans being trained there to seek asylum, have been charged with trespassing and impersonating an officer. Dana Priest reports that Rev. Roy Bourgeois, Rev. Larry Rosebaugh and Linda Ventimiglia, an army warrant officer from Salem, Ala., have been fasting in jail since August 12, when they were arrested by the FBI. The three, disguised as high-ranking army officers, were first apprehended at the base July 31 as they passed out hundreds of anti-war leaflets to the Salvadorans. The trio returned three times, once blasting a recording of the last homily of slain Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero from atop an 80-foot tree near the barracks at midnight.

Bourgeois, a longtime pacifist whose film, *Gods of Metal*, was nominated for an Academy Award, said the Salvadorans are largely unaware of the growing American criticism of the Reagan administration's policy in their country. "Some of the soldiers were dumbfounded," said Bourgeois in a recent interview. "Some were very sad. Some looked confused. Several followed us and wanted to know what we were about." The troops are isolated for "security reasons," said Army spokesman Lt. Col. Wayne Andrews, citing "harassment by the media and folks like those" who trespassed. The Army has successfully managed to keep the public and press away from the Salvadorans, who have been at the base since June for weapons and small-unit tactics training.

Corporations strike back

Quebec now has the strongest legislation supporting the right to strike anywhere in North America and angry corporate officials are responding with threats that they will move out of the province. Steve Askin reports that a new "anti-scab" law, effective September 1, prohibits companies from using non-union employees or hiring outsiders to replace workers involved in a strike or lockout. Canadian Pacific Railroad responded to the law by closing a struck hotel that had been operating since January with non-union workers. Menasco Canada Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of U.S.-based Colt Industries and Canada's largest manufacturer of airplane hydraulic systems, says it will leave the province. The company locked out 364 union workers involved in a contract dispute 14 months ago, and has continued some operations using managers and non-union outsiders. Unionists, charging that Menasco is violating another labor law by refusing to bargain, said they will file a multi-million dollar lawsuit against the company.

Death's designers

Protesting nuclear weapons production at arms plants around the country can lead to unfortunate clashes between disarmament proponents and the union workers who depend on military spending for their livelihoods. Usually insulated from the fray are the well-paid researchers and engineers who inhabit the think-tanks where weapons are discreetly designed, divorced from their purpose in the realm of high science. But engineers at Riverside Research Institute in Manhattan are getting their noses rubbed in the reality of their jobs. Brian D'Agostino reports that 133 people were arrested in mid-August in a five-day blockade of Riverside's 42nd Street offices. Protesters occupied the elevators and paraded outside the building, forcing the engineers to come and go through other offices. Participants came from the War Resisters' League, Maryknoll sisters and Catholic Worker groups. Although the blockade is over, leafletting outside the institute continues, and organizers say they'll stage more civil disobedience there in the future.

Back to the trenches

Gauging the impact of the August 27 March on Washington will take some time, making generalizations about its symbolic importance difficult (John Judis gives it his best shot on page 6). But while the left itself has been cautious in assessing the event, the media has labelled it an unambiguous success. It was wonderful, for example, to get out of bed the following Monday and read "Capital March: Activist Left Revives" in the *New York Times*. Our circulation office was poised for a deluge of subscription requests from this newly resurgent left.

Not so fast. Tuesday a *Times* Editor's Note clarified the bold assertion. Acknowledging that it had termed the march "evidence of the revival of the 'activist left' in America," the note went on to point out that many organizations took part in the event and "the use of the term 'activist left' to characterize all of them is an incorrect generalization." The note went on to warn that an article in the already-printed magazine section for the next Sunday used the same incorrect term. It's not easy being on the left: revived one day, dismissed the next. Looks like it's back to the trenches.

—Joan Walsh

Black South African alliance seeks links with white left

JOHANNESBURG—On August 20, a non-racial political organization was launched in Cape Town—the first national alliance expressing black South Africans' political aspirations since the government banned black political parties in 1960.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), a loose coalition of community, worker, youth and women's groups, has come together to fight the governments proposed "reforms" and to present a united front of anti-apartheid forces inside the country.

Left South Africans reject constitutional changes proposed by the government because they would leave people classified "African" outside the national political framework, limiting the legal political activity of the majority of the population to nominally "independent" bantustans. People classified "Asian" or "Colored" (of mixed racial heritage) would be able to vote for ethnic representatives in a tri-cameral parliament, but the white minority would retain firm control over an even stronger executive branch.

The UDF's founding is significant for other reasons than simply the fight against constitutional change. Most importantly, the coalition includes a wide spectrum of organizations opposed to the regime and promises to spearhead future campaigns against the apartheid state.

UDF leaders have worked carefully to this point, first forming regional coalitions of democratic, non-racial organizations during the past three months. At these regional meetings, group after group has pledged its "unshakeable conviction to the creation of a non-racial unitary state," and adherence to "unity in struggle," regardless of race or religion.

Working against a backdrop of massive resistance throughout South Africa this year, the UDF seems to be relying on widespread community support to stave off state repression. More than 100 groups are represented in the coalition, including the Soweto Civic Organization, the Congress of South African Students, the Natal Indian Congress, the Cape Housing Action Committee, the South African Allied Workers Union, the United Women's Organization and the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee.

Although the UDF's stated aims have remained strictly legal, its leaders—several of whom have only recently been released from detention or house arrest—refer frequently to the long tradition of black activism in South Africa. Prominent in that tradition is the banned African National Congress (ANC), the oldest black party in Africa. Founded in 1912, the ANC today operates in exile and underground inside the country. Although membership in the banned ANC carries a minimum five-year sentence, its current popularity is evident everywhere in the black community.

Many of the groups in the UDF coalition openly support the Freedom Charter, a docu-

ment drawn up in 1955 that forms the basis of ANC policy. The charter calls for political and economic democracy in South Africa, demanding universal franchise, land reform, nationalization of monopolies and equal social services for all.

Not all black South Africans support the charter. In June, shortly after the UDF scheduled its official launching date, a relatively small group of black activists formed another group, the National Forum. Following a combination of Trotskyist and black consciousness philosophies, the National Forum says its struggle is directed against "the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary section of the black middle class."

The National Forum rejects cooperation with even left-wing white groups. UDF leaders, on the other hand, welcome white

participation in their movement for a non-racial democracy. UDF leaders argue that the black consciousness approach could split left forces along ethnic lines.

In response to National Forum charges that the UDF is "charterist"—a term that clearly links the coalition to the banned ANC—UDF leaders maintain that their organization is broad-based and will not exclude any group ready to fight apartheid.

The debate between the UDF and the National Forum reflects a feeling that is now widespread among black activists, that the black consciousness philosophy—though important in terms of black pride and confidence—can divert attention from the main aim of overthrowing the state.

Although many of the groups represented in the UDF have made clear their sympathy with the ANC, the organization as a whole has avoided such identification. Rather than allowing anti-government forces to split among pro- and anti-ANC lines, the UDF insists it includes a wide spectrum of views and will serve as a national vehicle for the majority's concerns.

—Jan Pager



Strike ends, dissent endures

MONTREAL—Nine thousand Montreal clothing workers returned to work in late August after a nine-day strike, but many say their struggle has not yet ended.

The strike, the first in 43 years by the Montreal local of the U.S.-based International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), was the product of rank-and-file pressure on top union officials. From the start, union President Gilles Gauthier had counseled moderation, warning that the industry was "going down the drain" because of the competition from cheap Third World imports.

Workers responded angrily when he returned from negotiations with a settlement that freezes wages for six months, provides \$1.50 an hour (Canadian) in increases over two years for the 1,300 lowest paid workers and 75 cents for the others and leaves non-monetary issues open for continued negotiations after the return to work. Members now earn a minimum of \$5.78 an hour. (At current exchange rates a Canadian dollar is worth about 80 U.S. cents.)

Hundreds of members protested outside the meeting in which a divided union executive council narrowly voted to present the proposal. At a mass membership meeting that followed, workers shouted down union officials,

burned contracts and rejected the proposal overwhelmingly. Later, several dozen women workers blockaded union headquarters. "It is a union of bosses, it's not for the workers," one told a local newspaper.

Gauthier, charging that "outside Marxist-Leninists" had infiltrated the mass meeting, ordered a secret ballot vote. Members then voted 3,085 to 3,024 for the contract, with 122 void ballots. Afterward, one member told Canadian radio, "We're going back on our knees."

Ironically, Gauthier—an elected leader who replaced an English-speaker appointed by the central office in New York—came to power because of a rank-and-file revolt within a union frequently accused of suppressing internal democracy and "selling out" its members. Reform has been demanded by the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL), which is affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress and the AFL-CIO.

The fight within the ILGWU reflects broader ferment in Quebec's labor movement, which is extremely militant by U.S. standards. The QFL, with more than 300,000 members, has been spurred to push for reform partly by the tough competition from the Federation des Syndicats Nationaux (FSN), a slightly smaller federation that has strong socialist politics. The FSN supports Quebec independence and has no ties to U.S.-based international unions.

—Steve Askin & Carole Collins

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Democrat group hunting business backers, dollars

NEW HAVEN—The Democratic Party has quietly embarked on a strategy to raise millions of dollars for the 1984 campaign and challenge the Republicans' reputation as the "party of business."

The strategy centers on a group called the Democratic Business Council, which includes 111 executives from American corporations. They paid at least \$10,000 apiece to help determine what the party hoping to defeat Ronald Reagan will tell America's voters in 1984. The Council aims to double its membership within the next year and boost the Democrats' war chest in the process.

"We see them as footing between five and seven million dollars for the 1984 campaign," says Peter Kelly, a member of the Democratic National Committee who, along with Democratic National Chairman Charles Manatt, dreamed up the idea for the Council in 1981. "That's serious business." By contrast, Kelly says, the party can expect about \$4 million from labor for the campaign.

Along with dollars, the Business Council hopes to bring a new attitude into the party. It has begun meeting regularly with the party's elected officials. Five of the six announced Democratic presidential hopefuls have addressed the Council; the sixth, Walter Mondale, is scheduled to do so in August.

And three Democrats—one of whom was elected with no support from the business community in his home district—now serve as liaisons for the Business Council to party members on Capitol Hill. All three of them—Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey, Rep. Bill Alexander of Arkansas and Rep. Bruce Morrison of Connecticut—have liberal voting records in office and come from the party's liberal wing.

It sounds like an odd coalition, but those involved say they have more in common than not. "Business has not had enough of a voice in the Democratic Party," insists Arnold C. Greenberg, president and chief executive officer of the Hartford, Conn.-based Coleco Corporation and a member of the Business Council's 12-seat executive committee.

"The interests of business, minorities and the jobless work together," he says.

Members of the Business Council have generally supported the efforts of Bill Bradley and others to postpone the third year of the federal income tax cut and to crack down on tax shelters and loopholes.

"We are not trying to make the party 'pro-business' in some kind of uncritical sense," says Bruce Morrison, who is president of the House Democratic freshman class. Morrison won Connecticut's Third U.S. Congressional District seat last fall with the heavy backing of labor, while local business leaders overwhelmingly favored his Republican opponent. Morrison maintains he's not selling out labor by working closely with the Democratic Business Council. With 11 million American workers jobless and foreign markets overtaking those

at home, labor and business have a common goal, he says: putting the country back to work by finding new solutions.

"The most important thing that's being built [with the Business Council] is dialog and access. Adversarial relations between business and labor are not an ideal. There are a lot of shared interests. Being anti-union is not good for business."

AFL-CIO spokesman Rex Hardesty echoes Morrison when discussing the Business Council. "We welcome them aboard, the same as we would the broadening of the base in any other method," Hardesty proclaims. "We have no problem with this in theory, except that we will make our very best effort to influence the platform."

"However, I would not be a bluebird of happiness," he cautions. "There will be some problems."

While labor and management may be able to see eye-to-eye on industrial policy and perhaps relief for the unemployed, other issues like minimum wage laws may prove stickier. But Hardesty, like those involved with the Council, believes such issues can be negotiated in good faith.

The Democrats really have no other alternative, Hardesty believes. "They would be damned fools for trying to win without Corporate America."

—Paul Bass



Universal Press Syndicate

WASHINGTON—President Reagan began August with his widely reported fence-mending speech to the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, where he flattered his listeners by reminding them that without women men would still be attired in skin suits and bearing clubs. The month ended with a Justice Department employee, Barbara Honegger, dismissing Reagan's equal rights commitment as a "sham." In a season when political observers are pointing to the importance of the widening electoral gender gap, the administration's attempts to close it have been about as successful as the Chicago Cubs' traditional August pennant drive.

Behind the public relations gaffes, however, were substantive policy moves that even further alienated women. One of the widest ranging was an administration brief filed with the Supreme Court reversing a decade-old federal sex discrimination policy in education. Even prominent Republicans were provoked to protest the move, and those critics, unlike Barbara Honegger, won't be so easily dismissed as "munchkins."

The Supreme Court case, *Grove City vs. Bell*, is expected to clarify the application of Title IX, the 1972 federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds. Educational institutions receiving federal money are required to sign assurances that they comply with Title IX. Grove City College in Pennsylvania has refused to sign a compliance statement, claiming that it receives no direct federal funds, and that the federal loans their students receive do not constitute the "federal financial assistance" that triggers the Title IX regulation.

The administration's brief argues that student loans constitute federal money and that Grove City must sign the compliance statement. But the brief goes on to argue that only the program that administers the financial aid need comply with Title IX. Previous administrations interpreted and enforced the law throughout the entire institution if any program received any federal money, including student loans, anywhere in the institution.

Margy Kohn, a lawyer at the National Women's Law Center,

Briefing: Gender gap gaffes are educational

which has filed an amicus brief and requested time for oral argument, says this narrow interpretation of the law "would prohibit the institutions from discriminating in its small financial aid program, but would allow it to discriminate in its student life program." Kohn warns that this interpretation can also affect the enforcement of other federal legislation prohibiting discrimination based on race, national origin or handicap, because those laws were drawn along parallel lines.

Republican politicians, concerned that the administration's efforts to narrow the application of Title IX will hurt the party with women and minorities, attempted to challenge the move. Republican U.S. Rep. Claudine Schneider introduced a resolution to clarify that Title IX was meant to be applied comprehensively. Schneider's aide, Barbara McSweeney, explains that the "intent of the resolution was to send the message to the Departments of Justice and Education that the intent of the Congress was and should continue to be broadly interpreted."

The resolution is co-sponsored by a majority of the House, including House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) and conservative Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.). Leading a bipartisan group of 47 representatives and senators, Schneider also filed an amicus brief with the Supreme Court, contending that the administration's interpretation of Title IX is inconsistent with congressional intent.

Other groups, including the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, also met with administration officials in attempts to forestall an interpretation narrowing the scope of Title IX. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights warned that a narrow interpretation "could severely limit the federal government's ability to combat sex discrimination in education and, ultimately, in its efforts to eliminate discrimination on all bases in all federally assisted

programs."

The pleas appear to have been ignored. After the *Washington Post* obtained a copy of the draft brief and carried a story under an "Administration Shifts on Anti-Bias Policy" head, the Justice Department more directly argued a narrow interpretation and filed the brief on Friday, August 5, three days before the deadline. Many conclude that the brief was filed early to preclude a policy change and to diminish press coverage.

This strategy backfired. Articles and editorials appeared in papers throughout the nation. Schneider's resolution received additional co-sponsors, including conservative Republicans who previously declined to sign on. The *Washington Post* reported that Sen. Robert Dole wrote a letter to the Justice Department expressing his disappointment with their position and was considering asking them to withdraw their brief.

"Sen. Dole got the message we had been telling the administration months before their brief was due—Grove City is a sleeping giant that can erupt into another Reagan endorsement of discrimination against women and minorities, the groups whose support he needs for re-election," commented Amy Berger, a lobbyist for the American Association of University Women. "The Justice Department's action in the Grove City case further highlights the disparity between what the president says are his policies and goals and what is his actual record."

"Even if Reagan is able to recoup his losses and narrow the gender gap before the expected Supreme Court decision next summer, the ruling will only widen the gap," Berger concluded. "Speeches are quickly forgotten. Supreme Court cases are not. Regardless of how the Court rules on *Grove City vs. Bell*, the administration will continue to be seen as a barrier to women's legal equality."

—Jeffrey Menzer



1983 March on Washington



By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

OF THE AUGUST 28, 1963, march on Washington, columnist Haynes Johnson wrote, "It can be said that its sum was greater than its parts, and that what happened in Washington that day affected the life of the nation in ways still difficult to understand."

The August 27, 1983, march, held here to commemorate the 1963 event, attracted 300,000 people—50,000 more than the original event—and considerably more press. But while its numbers were larger, its accomplishments may not be.

The 1963 march culminated seven years of local civil rights agitation, beginning with the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. The march focused this local agitation on several simple and immediate national demands—chiefly, voting rights for blacks and access to public accommodations. Two years after the march, the civil rights movement had won the bulk of its demands, through the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and '65.

This year's march did not express a single movement but a coalition of movements and organizations that have frequently moved in opposite and often conflicting directions. Prior to the march, bitter disputes broke out between black march organizers, on one hand, and some labor officials, Jewish organizations and gay and abortion rights groups on the other.

Except for the demand to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, the march's demands were far from simple and immediate. The simplest of

them—the passage of a nuclear freeze resolution by both congressional houses—is extremely unlikely to occur in the near future. And if it does pass the Senate, it won't be because of political pressure generated by the August 27 march.

The march also lacked a single charismatic leader of the stature of Martin Luther King Jr. His "I have a dream" speech crystallized the aspirations of the civil rights movement, placing them in the context of American political and religious traditions.

At this year's march, one after another black leaders rose to the podium to emulate King. It was as if each of them had spent the week fantasizing that 20 years from now, newspaper and television commentators would be recalling their speech. Yet their words of inspiration were largely lost on the sun-baked crowd, most of whom couldn't hear what they said because of a weak sound system.

But although the 1983 march lacked the drama and the presence of the 1963 march, it reflected a more mature politics than that of the '60s. This is particularly true of the black movement.

• In 1963, the black movement had two charismatic leaders, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. In 1983, there is no leader of that stature. But the black movement now has what was entirely lacking in the '50s and '60s—a large, dependable, competent and sometimes brilliant corps of black leaders who are capable of administering a city or state as well as staging a demonstration. Many of these people—for instance, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, Washington D.C. Mayor Marion Barry and Georgia State Senator Julian Bond—were themselves organizers of the 1963 march.

• With the maturity of its leadership, the focus of the black movement—and of the movements to which it is allied—has shifted from protest to politics. The goal of the black movement is no longer to secure the vote, but to share in the actual governance of the society.

At the 1983 march, the underlying theme of all the black speakers was the mobilization of the black vote in order to defeat Ronald Reagan and the Republicans in 1984. The speaker who incited the most enthusiasm was Operation PUSH Director Jesse Jackson, who is expected to announce his presidential candidacy by the end of the month.

• In 1963, the black movement was focused on winning civil rights for blacks. At the 1983 march, black leaders could rouse the audience by mentioning the Pershing II missile or American intervention in Central America. There is a deep awareness—not only among black lead-

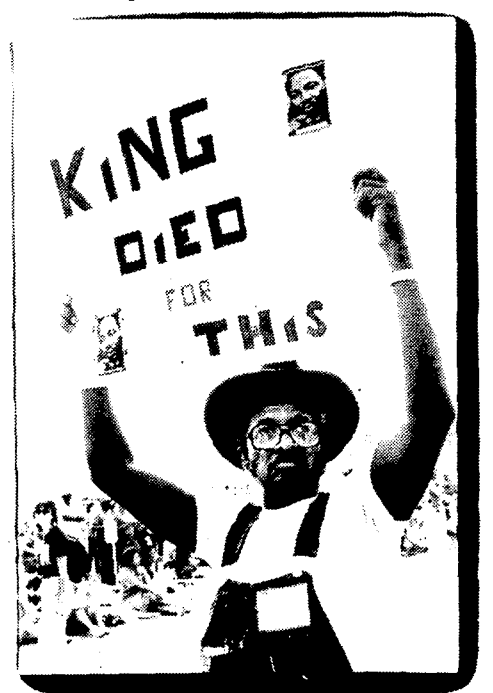
ers but among the larger electorate as well—of the connection between domestic and foreign policy. And the leaders themselves—for example, Young and members of the Black Congressional Caucus—articulate a politics on behalf of the entire society, not simply blacks.

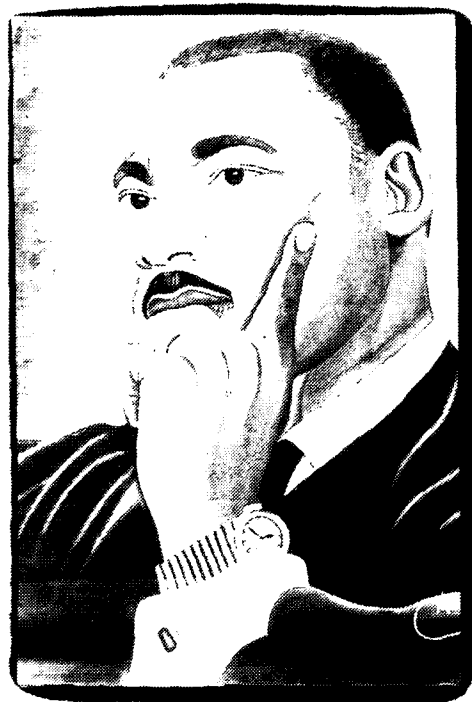
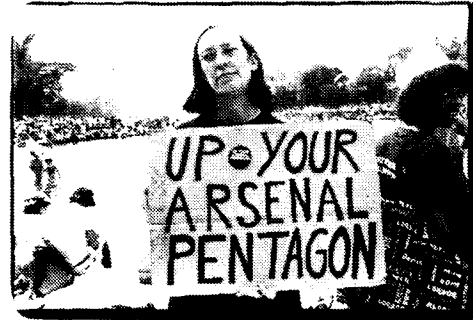
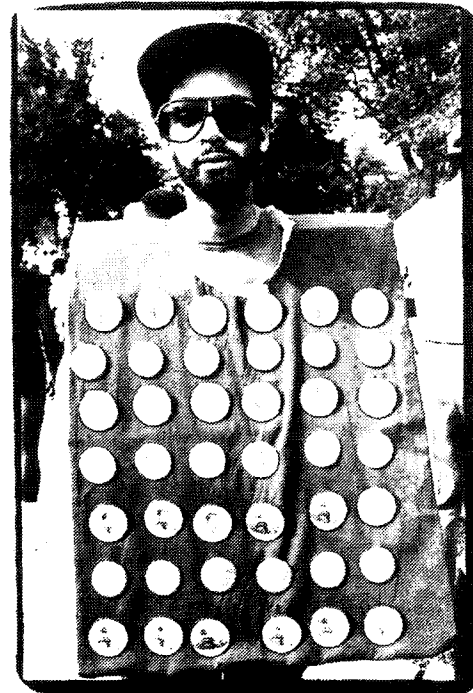
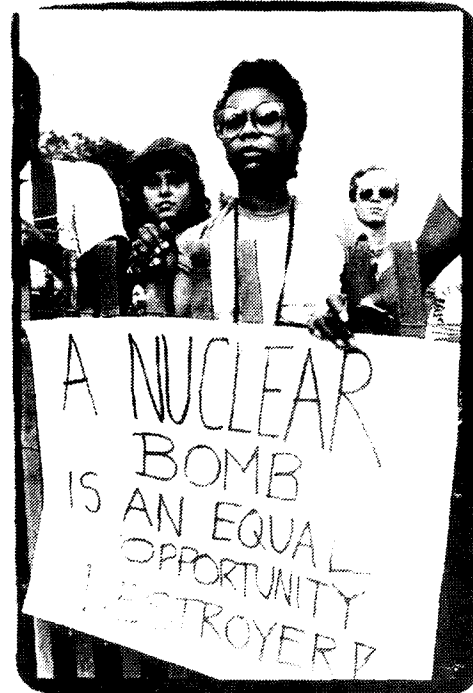
This year's march differed from the 1963 march in another important respect: it was composed largely of organizations rather than individuals. Reportedly, more than 700 organizations were represented, marching behind such banners as Hoosier Presbyterians for Peace, Delaware County NOW and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The AFL-CIO estimated that there were about 50,000 labor union members, most of them marching behind their union's banner.

In 1963, the AFL-CIO did not endorse the march. And there was no peace movement, environmental movement, women's movement or Hispanic movement. These movements, which developed in the late '60s and '70s, often found themselves quarreling with each other. In 1972 the Democratic Party was torn apart by the quarreling.

As noted, similar quarrels took place prior to the 1983 march. But these quarrels were waged against the backdrop of unprecedented unity among the nation's different left-leaning organizations and movements. Nothing like it could have occurred—or did occur—in 1963, 1973 or even 1980.

A question remains of how much greater this coalition is than the sum of its parts. But there is no question that, given political leadership, it could transform American politics over the next decade. ■





Politics favor King holiday

On August 2, the House of Representatives passed a bill making January 15 a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King's date of birth. The overwhelming support for the bill—338 to 90—indicates the growing respect Republican as well as Democratic politicians have for black voters.

In November 1979, the bill failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds margin. But this year conservative Republicans and Democrats backed the bill, with a majority of Republicans supporting it and only 12 Southern Democrats opposing it. Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) was among the conspicuous converts.

But according to congressional observers, many Republicans and conservative Democrats backed the bill in expectation that it would not get through Strom Thurmond's (R-S.C.) Judiciary Committee or that, if it did and passed the Senate, it would be vetoed by President Reagan. But Thurmond, who faces a tough challenge in 1984 from Governor Richard Riley, is expected to let the bill through, and Reagan has hinted that he will not veto it.

The bill will come up in the Senate this fall. If it does pass and is signed into law, King will be the only other American besides George Washington to be honored by a weekday work holiday.

—J.B.J.

IN THE NATION

Photographs by Lionel Delevingne



Counting on a black candidate

There is still considerable disagreement among the black leadership about Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

At the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's convention the week preceding the march, the delegates endorsed SCLC President Joseph Lowery to run for president. And during a *Face the Nation* interview the day after the march, Andrew Young, who has wavered month-by-month on the issue, came out against Jackson's candidacy.

Young's complaint against Jackson was that he had not, as claimed, presented himself as the candidate of a

"rainbow coalition" of whites, blacks and Hispanics but simply as the black candidate. Even at the August 27 march—where the audience was at least 40 percent white—Jackson's speech was clearly directed at blacks.

But the promise of Jackson's candidacy is that he will help register black voters—a priority emphasized by every black speaker at the march. Blacks and Hispanics could play the decisive role in defeating Reagan in 1984.

The numbers are formidable. There are more than a million black voters in Illinois, California, Texas and New York—four of the five most important states to win. Blacks constitute 20 percent or more of the voting population in six Southern states. And Hispanics make up about 15 percent of the voting population in California and Texas.

In the 1982 elections, important Democratic victories in the Texas, Michigan and New York governors' races were due to increased black voter turnout. An 86 percent vote among Hispanics also helped carry Texas for Mark White.

If Jackson and black leaders can increase the turnout of the decidedly anti-Reagan black population and if the Southwest Voter Education Project can increase the anti-Reagan Hispanic vote, Reagan may lose in 1984, even if he faces one of the colorless Democratic challengers.

—J.B.J.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

HISSENE HABRE, THE current ruler of Chad supported by the Reagan administration, is often referred to as a "colorful adventurer." This is the euphemism applied to a certain category of African leaders who owe their rise more to undercover support from Western intelligence sources than to any popular political base. Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire is the best known example.

Hissene Habre's name rings a bell in France. He got to be famous back in the mid-'70s for kidnapping a French woman ethnologist, Francoise Claustre, and holding her hostage in the desert of northern Chad for nearly three years as he bargained with the French government for her ransom in arms and ammunition.

The Claustre caper, which involved a murder or two, made Hissene Habre into

Behind-the-scenes work sets off confrontation in Chad

sinations.

This is where Hissene Habre came in. A northern Moslem born in the French administrative oasis of Faya-Largeau, he studied political science in Paris on a government scholarship. There he learned, among other things, to talk a good revolution. This came in handy when, according to various published reports, Habre was sent to northern Chad in 1971 by Tombalbaye to infiltrate and split the Frolinat movement.

By this time, political leadership losses

public of Germany) was killed in the attack.

In less than two months, the West German government paid a ransom of 400 million francs to free the doctor. The French press ignored the affair. On April 12, 1975, French Major Pierre Galopin, sent to negotiate with the rebels, was executed by Habre. Then Combe escaped. Francoise Claustre was the sole hostage left, and neither the press nor the French government showed any interest.

Such negligence may have been due in part to the feeling among Africa specialists that there was something fishy about the whole affair. Francoise Claustre's husband, Pierre Claustre, headed the French Administrative Reform Mission to Chad in 1973 and 1974. This was a cover for military assistance. Rumor had it that Habre was his special protege. Nobody would say that Claustre had engineered the kidnapping of his own wife in order to establish Habre's credibility as a genuine Chadian revolutionary leader, but there was widespread suspicion that an operation with that intent had somehow gotten out of hand.

About the time Francoise Claustre was being kidnapped, Valery Giscard d'Estaing succeeded the late George Pompidou as president of France. This brought some changes in undercover control of Africa. Ever since de Gaulle had granted French Africa its "independence," the real ruler was de Gaulle's secretive right-hand man, Jacques Foccart.

Foccart's network knew about everyone in Africa and manipulated them all. His dirty tricks experts, known as "barbouzes," were legendary. Foccart could work with France's British and American allies in Africa, or against them. Notably,

his agents tried to undo Britain's biggest African ex-colony, Nigeria, by encouraging the Biafra secession.

Foccart was such a de Gaulle loyalist that he refused to serve under Giscard. But his networks remained, secretly supported by private business interests. Officially, he was succeeded by his assistant Rene Journiac, who was killed in a mysterious plane crash in Cameroon in 1980. Foccart diehards considered Journiac a traitor.

That made two rival French networks in Africa. And that was not all. Giscard held onto Pompidou's recent appointee, Alexandre de Marenches, to head the French equivalent of the CIA, SDECE. De Marenches began to cooperate more closely with the CIA.

Shifting policy.

All this corresponded to a shift in economic policy under Giscard—away from Gaullist support to the whole French economy to selective support of sectors considered most viable on an increasingly integrated world market. These changes produced frictions and even led to secret wars between rival networks, attached to rival economic interests. Such conflicts probably account for Pierre Claustre's initial inability to interest Paris in ransoming his wife.

Then on April 13, 1975, President Tombalbaye fell out of power in an officers' coup. General Felix Malloum took over as head of state. The new military government made nationalist noises and talked about asking French troops to leave Chad. This turn of events seems to have inspired Paris to start looking for a possible successor to run the Chad government in N'Djamena. What about Hissene Habre?

A month later, a personal friend of Giscard, Marie-Laure de Decker, set out for Tibesti as a *Gamma* photographer along with journalist Raymond Depardon. For years, the French press had shown no curiosity about the leaders of Frolinat. Official censorship prevented any images of the French war against the rebels in Chad from reaching the French public.

But in 1975 and 1976, the public discovered Habre and the picturesque Toubou rebels of rugged Tibesti. Decker's well-composed photographs showed Francoise Claustre looking downcast, guarded by ascetically long, thin tribesmen. The message was that she was being treated unjustly, not by the rebels, but by the French government that was dawdling about delivering the ransom.

The photos enabled the French government to tell suspicious African governments that they were forced into arming Habre by French public opinion. Somewhere along the way, Habre and Goukouni quarreled. It was Goukouni who in January 1977 finally freed Francoise Claustre via Libya, where she thanked Colonel Kadhafi for his humanitarian aid before disappearing into a discreet private life.

With his own private armed band drawn from the Moslem north, Habre carved out a piece of the action in the increasingly confused civil war. Following a cease-fire, he convinced President Malloum to name him prime minister on Aug. 29, 1978. Within a few months, civil war was raging again. Habre was pitted against Malloum and the French against Frolinat, now commanded by Goukouni.

The umpteenth merger.

Here Colonel Kadhafi overplayed his hand. Having sent Libyan forces into Chad to help Goukouni, Kadhafi announced Chad's merger with Libya in January 1981. This was the umpteenth "merger" the Colonel had announced

INTHEWORLD

one of the most famous Africans, and by far the most famous Chadian, in France. It also launched the successful political career that peaked recently as the former kidnapper entered Ronald Reagan's rogues' gallery of free world heroes who must be armed to the teeth and defended at all costs.

Many cynics consider Chad the perfect place for a war. It has only four million inhabitants, the northern half is desert and it has never been a real country. The French came in around 1900, took over the rich farmland in the south and turned it to cotton plantations for export. It became a colony in 1920, named Chad after the big lake in the southwest.

The boundaries were not set until 1936. The northern boundary between Chad and Libya (then an Italian colony) was a straight line drawn more or less arbitrarily through the Sahara desert and is still disputed to this day. In 1973, Kadhafi bought the disputed territory, called the Aozou strip, from Chad's President Francois Tombalbaye, but this secession was contested by France and subsequent Chadian governments.

But whatever the lines on the map, the French never fully controlled the nomads who roamed the northern desert indifferent to boundaries.

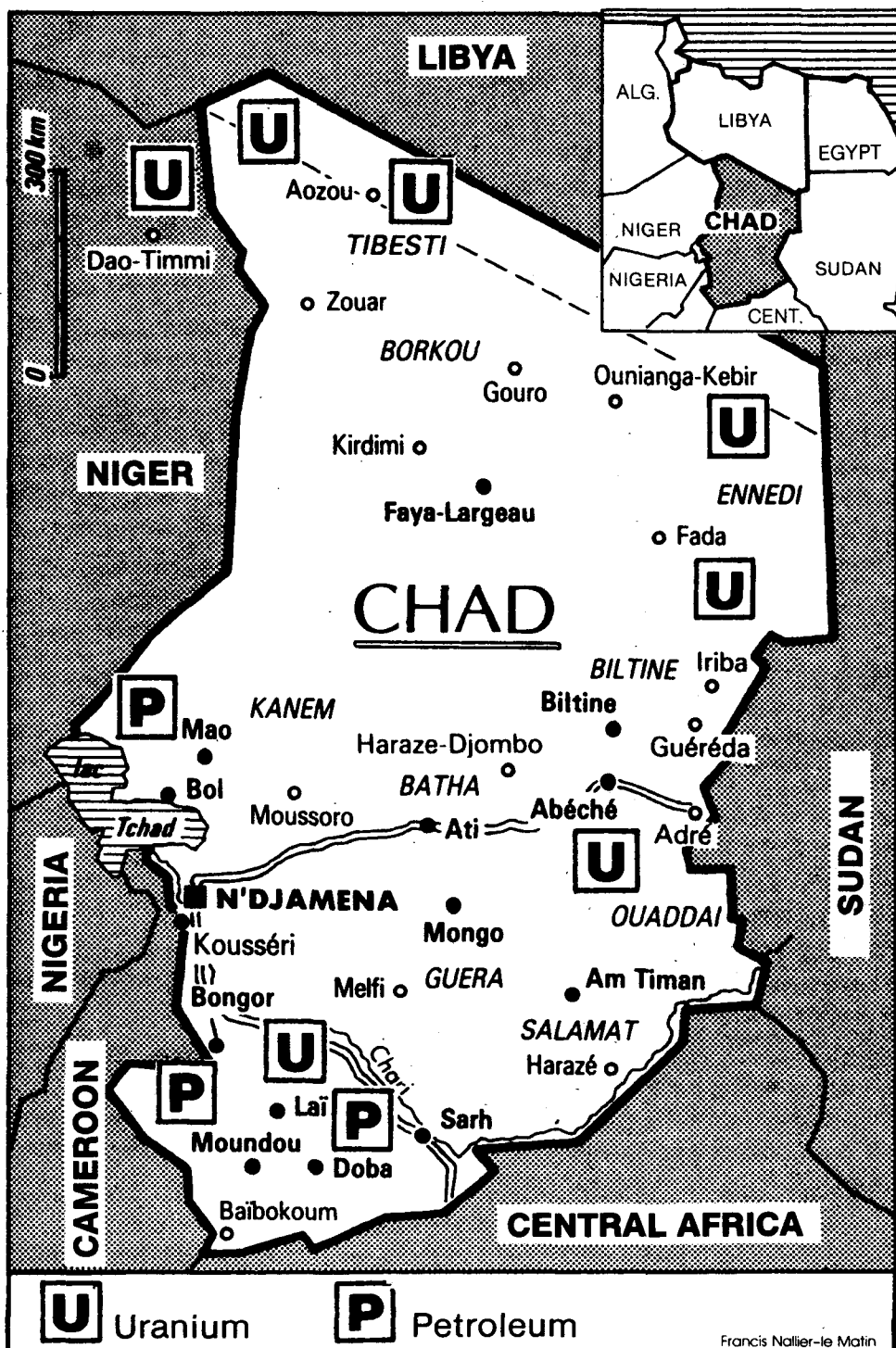
When Charles de Gaulle took power in France in 1958, he hastened to complete the transition from colonial to neo-colonial order in Africa as part of his modernization of the French economy. Rapidly, France's African colonies were granted independence, in return for cooperation agreements that left France in control of their economic and political life. The change hurt some of the more modest white settlers, who swelled the ranks of the disgruntled extreme right (thereby enhancing de Gaulle's anti-colonialist credibility), but smoothed the way for the big multinationals.

Thus a "state" like Chad is basically an administrative structure set up to facilitate French business and control, which has been turned over to African officials and administrative employees who become a new privileged class—privileged but dependent, since their payrolls are often met out of French technical assistance funds.

In the first decade of independence, inspired by Asian and Latin American examples, various African revolutionary movements aspired to forge genuine nations through struggle. One of these was the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat), which emerged in eastern Chad in the mid-'60s to lead a national uprising against the dictatorship of Tombalbaye, who had been installed by the French as president when the colony was granted independence on Aug. 11, 1960. In 1968 and 1969, answering Tombalbaye's call, French troops inflicted severe casualties on the Frolinat rebels. In addition, other African opposition movements lost their most promising leaders in unsolved assassinations.

had made Frolinat vulnerable to resurgent tribalism and political manipulation. Command of the northern desert units had fallen to Goukouni Weddei, son of the octogenarian *Derdei*, traditional chieftain of the Toubou nomads who range across the barren Tibesti desert. Another son of the *Derdei* controlled the committees of Chadian immigrant workers in Libya (some 50,000 of them). The family did not want to give up any of its traditional authority to Frolinat. Habre's assignment was to flatter their Toubou pride, playing on disdain for the "slaves" in the south, in order to encourage their separatism and weaken Frolinat.

On April 21, 1974, Habre led Toubou warriors on a raid in the northernmost desert town of Bardai and seized three prisoners: Francoise Claustre, Marc Combe (both French) and a German doctor named Staewen. The doctor's wife (a niece of the president of the Federal Re-



with another country, none of which has ever come off. Africans were alarmed, but not because they saw Libya as an "agent of Soviet expansionism." Worse than that, they recalled the Arab world's ancient treatment of black Africa, starting with the slave trade.

After Francois Mitterrand was elected president in 1981, he welcomed Goukouni to Paris and offered French support to a plan to get the Libyans out of Chad. The Organization of African Unity agreed to send an inter-African force to "relieve the Libyan troops in Chad." Habre had rejected all compromises with the coalition government headed by Goukouni, and he fled to Sudan to drum up support. Mitterrand reportedly obtained secret assurances from Sudan and the U.S. that they would not back Habre if France succeeded in getting the Libyans out. He complied with surprising rapidity, pulling out all his forces within a fortnight.

This was hailed as a triumph for Mitterrand's new "socialist" African diplomacy and a happy ending for Chad.

But not for long. In January, strongly supported by Sudan and Egypt, Hissene Habre invaded Chad from Sudan and rapidly captured much of the east. By June 7, he captured N'Djamena, and on Oct. 21, 1982, he proclaimed himself president of Chad.

A week later, Goukouni returned to his ancestral capital in Bardai along with other members of the transitional national unity government ("GUNT") driven out of N'Djamena by Habre. Goukouni called Habre an agent of American imperialism and appealed to Libya for support. GUNT Vice-President Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue, known for his anti-Libyan sentiments, was at his side.

Colonel Kamougue, a southerner, was long the favorite officer of the French Cotontchad company that controls the cotton industry, accounting for 60 percent of Chad's export earnings. Colonel Kamougue explained the appeal to Libya: "We are not arms manufacturers. We are obliged to turn to friendly countries, just as Hissene has just done with the U.S." More recently, CBS television reported that the CIA gave Habre \$10 million to fight Goukouni.

The U.S. motive cannot be to "stop Libyan expansionism." This had been accomplished at the end of 1981. Rather, Habre's invasion, like his repeated rejections of any compromise or coalition, seem deliberately designed to provoke Libya into moves that can provide the pretext for the war the Reagan administration seems to want to kindle in Africa.

France as "America's Cuba" in Africa?

At an August 10 news conference, President Reagan said, "Chad is not our primary sphere of influence, it is that of France." He added that "we remain in constant consultation with them."

About the same time, State Department spokesman John Hughes said Americans did not consider themselves the gendarmes of Africa—that it was up to the French with their long tradition in the region to lead the resistance against Libya's flagrant aggression in Chad. And earlier, Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking of the French and Chad, said, "It is an area of prime concern to them, being a former French colony, and of course all of the Francophone countries of Africa are watching the situation. We're in close consultation with the French and I'm sure that they will exercise their responsibilities properly."

Thus this summer the Reagan administration ostentatiously shoved the French back into their colonial role in Chad. They had left just three years ago, withdrawing their troops at unanimous African request after some 15 years of military intervention and conflicting secret-agent intrigues had eliminated serious opposition leadership and left the country in an unmanageable shambles.

But the Reagan administration's global strategy involves a revival of the old European empires in the Third World, this time under American hegemony. This is the answer to the collapse of Nixon's global strategy based on policing by regional Third World powers, discredited



Chad ruler Hissene Habre

when the Iranian revolution revealed the cultural fragility of pro-Western regimes outside the West.

The idea is to get the Europeans to take up "the white man's burden" they had been abandoning since World War II, originally under American "anti-colonialist" pressure. The Americans then thought they could take over, but the world proved a bigger bite than they could chew. So now they are willing to share policing tasks with old experts like the French and British. The real purpose is to guard access to raw materials. The pretext is to "protect the Free World from Soviet expansionism."

Toubou chieftain Goukouni



It was reported the CIA gave Habre \$10 million, not to "stop Libyan expansionsim," but to provoke Libya into moves that would offer a pretext for war.

To get France—with its socialist government—back into a mess like Chad took more than exhortations from Reagan. It required a situation of political decadence in both Africa and France, and a pressure mechanism exploiting everybody's weaknesses.

President Francois Mitterrand had no particular reason to want to rush to the aid of the mercenary chieftain Hissene Habre. In 1981, Mitterrand persuaded Chadian president Goukouni Weddei to order Libyan forces out of Chad. Habre promptly took advantage of the situation to invade Chad with forces raised in neighboring Sudan, giving the lie to the French assurances France gave Goukouni that he could safely expel the Libyans. This made Mitterrand look like a dupe or stooge of the Americans backing Habre.

Having installed himself in N'Djamena as "legitimate head of state" and basking in his American protection, Habre roundly insulted the French as he commanded them to come fight his rival Goukouni, the man Mitterrand promised to help two years ago. Abandoned, Goukouni and his "transitional national unity government" had turned back to Kadhafi, allowing Reagan administration propagandists to portray Habre as a free world patriot defending his country from "Soviet expansionism."

In an August 6 news conference, Habre called Mitterrand's chief adviser on African affairs Guy Penne a "poor imbecile who knows nothing about Africa" and accused him and other French foreign officers of belonging to a "pro-Libyan lobby." Using up his verbal ammunition fast, Habre called Libyan bombing of the Faya-Largeau oasis a "veritable genocide."

Despite such tirades, Paris reluctantly sent French paratroopers back to Chad to "train" Chadian troops by occupying the front lines and demonstrating what to do in case of an attack. Meanwhile, the Americans built up the excitement by flapping their AWACs and waving their Redeye bazookas, hastily flown in for Habre's forces to shoot down Libyan planes and then hastily flown out again when no one knew what to do with them.

Such demonstrations of American force were ostensibly meant to frighten Kadhafi. In reality, they frightened the French, who see the Americans muscling in on the African arms market, where France unloads enough of its spare killing hardware each year to help make Africa one of the few bright spots in France's worsening foreign trade balance. The parade of bazookas in and out of Chad was an implicit sales pitch for American arms, complete with trainers. The threat to French arms exports must be taken seriously.

To back it up, the Reagan administration invited some of France's best African customers—Presidents Abou Diouf of Senegal, Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast and the insolvent but serviceable Mobutu of Zaire—to go to Washington to grumble that France must not let down its African friends in Chad. This was a fine turn of the knife. To some extent, rulers of sub-Saharan African countries genuinely fear Kadhafi's petro-dollars, which may buy the loyalties of officials with slim paychecks. But they find it in their interest to exaggerate this worry.

The Kadhafi threat is a good pretext for seeking more money and support from Paris and Washington, and domestically, any sort of popular opposition can be blamed on Kadhafi. But everyone knows that Libyans are too few and too Arabic to ever be able to conquer black Africa.

The real threat.

The French generally see the Americans as a much more serious threat than the Libyans to their interests in Africa. Aware of this, the American strategists' game is evidently to get the French in by feigning to go in themselves, by manipulating the so-called "moderate" (meaning docile) African leaders and by direct pressure.

Journalist Eric Rouleau reported in *Le Monde* August 17 that Reagan had sent Mitterrand "several missives" in recent weeks urging him on and that the French president was "irritated by these constant attempts to put pressure." On the basis of private conversations with Mitterrand, Rouleau said the Elysee strategy was to try to avoid the worst in a highly dangerous situation by keeping the conflict from spreading and by favoring negotiations. The French paratroopers were deployed in such a way as to separate the two sides.

The problem is that Hissene Habre has already sabotaged negotiated settlements in the past and everything indicates he will do so again and again, with the full support of his American backers. Already in 1979 and 1980, when Chad was exhausted from incessant civil war, President Valery Giscard d'Estaing promoted a "federal solution" for Chad that led to the coalition government headed by the hereditary Toubou chieftain Goukouni. The idea was to end the strife by giving a measure of autonomy to the various regional barons, whose power bases are determined not only by ethnic, religious and tribal differences, but also by the conflicting French economic interests (cotton versus minerals) and agent networks vying for control.

Thus Colonel Kamougue, Goukouni's vice president, represented the Christian south and the local French-owned cotton monopoly. This settlement was complicated by encroachment—both economically (Conoco found oil near Lake Chad) and in CIA efforts, which can only be surmised—to take advantage of the hostilities between Gaullist and Giscardian networks of secret agents.

It retrospect, it seems fairly clear that part of the French Africa network was so hostile to Giscard's Africa policy that they preferred the election of Mitterrand—not because they liked the Socialist candidate, but because they hoped that, knowing less about Africa, he would be easier to bamboozle and lead by the nose. This reasoning may well have been shared by right-wing American strategists.

Part of Mitterrand's problem today is that he does not fully control French agent networks in Africa. Some of them have, at least for now, cast their lot with the Reagan administration and are now backing Habre.

Habre's role has been to break any federal compromise. This has earned him total American support, because any federal compromise in Chad must inevitably recognize a certain traditional Libyan "sphere of influence" that has always existed in the far northern desert. Libya considers that it legally acquired the contested Aozou strip in 1973 and has administered it ever since. Any effort to drive Libya totally out of Chad would be regarded by Libya as an aggressive act. This is what Habre is insisting on. And his French supporters, such as retired col-

Continued on page 11

Cardinal

Continued from page 3

gaged in destabilizing the government. Just last July 22, the president of the conference, Archbishop John Roach [of St. Paul-Minneapolis], issued a statement indicating the principles we've been enunciating all along are still applicable: the settlement should be negotiated; there are justice issues involved. We've also expressed concern with the Nicaraguan government that does not seem to be respecting human rights, religious rights. That's another factor that has to be taken into account in the equation. In social issues of this kind our basic responsibility is to provide the framework within which people can make a moral analysis and then arrive at their own decisions.

What kind of feedback are you getting from the Reagan administration concerning the peace pastoral?

Last November there was a rather detailed letter from Mr. [William] Clark [presidential adviser] sent to the *New York Times* and me. The *New York Times* got it before I did, and so that created a little stir. Then we met with administration officials at different levels to hear them, get their input. Then when the third draft was completed—the one we discussed and changed at the May meeting—an administration spokesman indicated they were pleased because we were much closer to their position. And Archbishop

Roach and I made a point of saying we were pleased they were pleased.

As a result of conversations with the administration, there were two instances where clarifications were made, mostly in factual matters. In terms of our basic position, there were many, many differences with the administration, and therefore it is not correct to say the third draft represented the administration position. Then when the final document was approved, I think someone at the level of the administration said it would make a good contribution to the dialog. And that's the last I've heard—official or unofficial.

I understand there is a letter purportedly sent by the FBI in Washington to its office in Chicago ordering surveillance of you in order, according to the NEW YORK TIMES, "to secure information discrediting the cardinal" and recommending that agents conduct "any counteraction that may be detrimental to the initiatives [sic] of the courses of peace education conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church."

That's another matter. I personally think, I hope, that was not an authentic letter. A copy of the letter was sent anonymously to me; the postmark was Silver Springs, Md. There was a typewritten cover letter in which the person said, "I have come across this letter and it is so disturbing to me I feel you should be apprised of it." The first thing I did was verify that the two men—the [FBI] man in Washington and the man here existed. And they do.

It was addressed to the FBI agent in

charge in Chicago?

Yes. My first reaction was this is a phoney. Someone has done this for some mischievous reason.

It was not patently obvious that this was a phoney letter?

No, not at all. Contact was made with the U.S. Attorney in Chicago. I was told an investigation would be made and to keep the matter confidential. The next thing I knew the *New York Times* carried a story in which it reported we gave the letter to the FBI. We did not give it to the FBI. It would have been foolish to give it to the agency allegedly conducting the surveillance. I have no idea how the story originated. It certainly didn't come from here. I have no desire to embarrass anybody. We have not yet heard the results of the investigation. I want to make it clear again I don't think this is authentic. But again, stranger things have happened, so I don't want to ignore it.

Do you know of any solid evidence anywhere indicating the government or any group is attempting to put down, subvert or discredit the peace pastoral or the educational effort you are beginning?

I do not.

Would you say a word about the bishops' next major pastoral letter—the one in which they plan to critique capitalism?

It will have to be a brief word because I don't know much about it. There is a committee chaired by Archbishop Rembert Weakland [of Milwaukee]. Their target day [for the letter] at first was this November. When we couldn't finish our pastoral letter until last May, they decid-

ed to postpone the letter for a year. It's my understanding we'll have some kind of draft for discussion in November and the document will be passed the following November. I'm very interested in it, but all I know now is the committee exists and is doing its work.

People wonder if it will be a scathing criticism of the American economic system and possibly quite controversial.

My feeling is that there will probably be less interest in it than in the peace pastoral—aside from whether it's controversial.

As you look back on your first year in Chicago, how would you characterize your relationship with the different segments of the public?

First, in general, a more tranquil climate has been established, I believe, making it a little bit easier for diverse elements to work together. Now that's an intangible thing, but there has been progress. One of the problems has been that the expectations are too high. I don't want people to have unreasonable hopes. I have established a good working relationship with the priests—the Priests' Senate and the Association of Chicago Priests.

Something that has not been recorded but I have been working at is establishing better relationships with women religious. This summer I've been going to some religious congregations—a profession of vows, a chapter, a celebration—almost once a week. But there's never anybody there to report it. I've met twice with the major superiors [of sisters' orders]. I have a third meeting this month. But since they're not reported, people have the perception I spend most of my time with the priests. Of course, this new project, this dialog with the religious the Pope has asked us to undertake, is going to bring us together.

Bring together? There's a tremendous amount of anxiety and unhappiness among the sisters concerning this project.

I'm very aware of the anxiety. But I'm inviting the sisters to dialog. Regardless of anxiety, it's a good occasion to consider in depth some of the issues that face us as Church. I want to mention in passing that the day before it was announced in Rome that this process was to take place, I had copies of the Pope's letter, the attached documents and my own cover letter hand delivered to all the major superiors resident in the archdiocese, so they would hear about it from me first, and to assure them that I want to work with them. It's really the first time the local bishops have been asked to assume this role. I'm willing to approach this in the most positive way possible.

Yet this investigation is being seen by a large number of sisters as an effort by the Pope and the Vatican to put the nuns back in their place, to say the era of experimentation is over: back in your habits, back to your convents—a cessation of the renewal most of these orders have been attempting for 20 years. Could you comment?

Well, I'm sure these are concerns on the part of some religious. I say some because not all the religious congregations see things the same way. For example,

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there are some 36 religious congregations whose motherhouses are here. And their view of religious life, the role of the Church would be quite different.

I'm sure some orders will not have any difficulty with what Rome is saying. All I'm saying is there are some orders in accord with the Vatican document outlining the essentials of religious life, others which perceive this as a kind of retrogression.

What I'm asking is do you see it as a retrogression?

Not necessarily. I see it as an effort to reach a better understanding of what religious life is all about.

But shouldn't such an investigation start with the orders themselves rather than through the bishops?

I think it's legitimate to ask the bishops to enter into dialog with the religious. Actually, the discussion is being remanded to the local level where it's easier to talk, to come to an understanding.

The Pope's letter, along with the Vatican documents, isn't just asking where these orders are in order to decide what's good and isn't good. It's been decided what's good and isn't, and they're telling the bishops to see what can be done about getting things back in line.

That's your perception of it. I don't deny there are differences. For the most part, what's there is taken from the documents of the Second Vatican Council. I think some religious feel they have developed beyond those documents. So there's a certain amount of tension. Perhaps it's a good thing to address that, to see what religious life is or should be.

This is not, then, a witch hunt, an effort to halt renewal?

What the Holy Father is doing, as I see it, is to say here are the essential values of the religious life and to see if these values are being maintained. What will be the outcome I can't prejudge. But as the pastor of a large church with a great number of religious, I intend to facilitate the dialog, to come to grips with the issues. I will do the best I can to understand, to look on this whole thing in a positive light. What else can I do?

This raises a more general question concerning the whole issue of authority. Many Catholics see the bishops as a bridge between the Vatican and the laity. And they see the bishops communicating very well the positions of the Vatican, and sometimes presenting very well their own collective views—as you did in the peace pastoral. But to what extent do the bishops, do you, feel a responsibility to transmit to the Vatican what indeed may be the work of the Holy Spirit operating in and through the people at the grass-roots level?

I think we have an obligation. Obviously, I have an obligation to interpret what the universal Church, the Magisterium (the Pope and the bishops) say. My understanding of Church is that after all these exchanges have taken place, the Pope is still the head of the Church, with a special responsibility. It's my obligation to accept that. But at the same time I feel it's my responsibility to let him know what's happening in the Church.

Now how do you do this? Perhaps through a council, but normally we do it by being asked what we think about some issue or development. That doesn't get as much attention because we do it in a quiet way. But the point is that even after the exchange has taken place, the Vatican Church has a special authority. I've taken an oath to uphold it. But I'm conscious of the tensions between the local Church and the universal Church.

Let me cite an example of the problem: the matter of contraception. You and I know there are great numbers of practicing Catholics who use contraceptives in the Archdiocese of Chicago. You and I know there are great numbers of priests who are not imposing the papal position. I would guess you, as bishops, talk about this with the Vatican. Now the question I raise—and this applies to other things too—are these developments reported simply as aberrations? Or are you saying to the Vatican, something may be going on here? The so-called sense of the faithful

is, after all, a legitimate source of theological development.

I would like to lift the issue. My answer is not to any specific question. It is the obligation of the bishop to state very candidly what he thinks honestly when addressing the Holy See. But after the exchange has taken place, I believe our Church is set up in such a way that we have to accept the guidance and teaching of the Holy Father. Now what is my relationship to my people? I think my responsibility is to explain in the most credible way I know what the teaching is and why the teaching is formulated in a particular way. I feel that is my responsibility. And if I could not do that, I would feel obligated to resign. I don't think I would have the option to undermine the teaching. If it became a personal problem for me, I would have the obligation to resign.

That then applies across the board to all kinds of things, from the ordination of women to girls serving mass.

Of course those are all at different levels. They're not all the same. For example, women's ordination is seen by the Magisterium as a doctrinal question. I know some people do not see it that way.

Including a sizeable number of theologians.

That's right. But I personally think it is a doctrinal question. Obviously, altar girls is not. It's a disciplinary thing perceived by many people as an anomaly today because women are permitted to do things that are much more significant than serving at the altar—for example, proclaiming the scriptures, acting as extraordinary ministers of Communion. In one sense you may put these things together. In another, they are very different.

Yes, they are at different levels of the spectrum, but they are all related to authority.

As a member of the college of bishops, I must uphold the teachings and discipline of the universal Church. At the same time, as pastor of the local Church, I have to be sensitive to the needs of the people of the local Church. Frequently, those needs are in conflict. And I must represent those needs.

You feel that responsibility when speaking to the Holy Father?

I do.

On the matter of sensitivity to local needs, you said in your prohibition against altar girls that you did not want anyone to be hurt. I would like to ask the general outline of the argument you would present to girls explaining why they cannot serve mass—other than that the Vatican says they can't.

This whole altar girl thing is symbolic of a much deeper question—the role of women in Church and society. And while we've made some strides in addressing that issue, there's much more that needs to be done. It's my intention in the archdiocese to develop a pastoral statement on the role of women. I've had that intention for a long time. Now I sense the need to do that—in consultation with other people.

This flap about altar girls is significant because it's symbolic of this deeper problem I intend to address in a serious way. In terms of trying to explain this, I think some people see the altar girl matter strictly in terms of justice and equality, while the official Church sees it more in terms of different but complementary roles. And there's a certain tension between these two perceptions.

Chad

Continued from page 9

onial General Chevance-Bertin, are already crying "Munich!" at any negotiated settlement that would leave Libya with the Aozou strip, which Chevance-Bertin is so bold as to call the "African Alsace-Lorraine."

The real motives for the Reagan administration's zeal in Chad can only be surmised through the smokescreen of ideological propaganda. Colonel Kadhafi told journalist Rouleau that Hissene

Habre had promised to let the U.S. install military bases in Chad. The source is unreliable, but the idea is plausible. Certainly, the securing of military bases on the approaches to the Gulf area is a major preoccupation of the Pentagon these days.

Another factor could be the uranium deposits reported in Chad, in the south and east but also and especially in the northern Aozou strip occupied by Libya. Reportedly tungsten, zinc, tin, copper and other metals are also there. But the Tibesti desert is too far from anything to make mining these minerals a profitable venture in the foreseeable future.

Tibesti uranium is hardly worth a war—except, perhaps, in the Israeli perspective of preventing Libya from gaining access to uranium. Libya lacks the industrial base necessary to build nuclear weapons, and in 1980 it placed its small nuclear research installations under international supervision, so a "Libyan bomb" is not likely. But Libya might pass uranium along to another Islamic country, as it is rumored to have already done with a shipment of Niger uranium for Pakistan. In this hypothesis, the Chad war could fit into the ever-expanding task of ensuring Israel's security.

In terms of more immediate political benefits, focusing on an "evil enemy" like Libya provides a useful pretext for strengthening the U.S. foothold in Africa, for involving European allies in neo-colonial tasks and for creating a more and more inescapable polarization between a "Western" and a "Soviet-Libyan-totalitarian-terrorist" camp that leaves no space for genuine liberation or democratic movements in Africa.

The Reagan administration probably secretly enjoys watching the French squirm as they are reduced to the role of "America's Cuba" in Africa. Getting them embroiled in war in their African "sphere of influence" would halt their criticism of U.S. policy toward Central America.

The Chad imbroglio is symptomatic of the present rapid and alarming worldwide

political decadence. Years of neo-colonial corruption and repression, together with extreme poverty and understandable human error, have left Chad without any desirable political leadership alternative, and the same goes for much of Africa. "Armed struggle," which was once romanticized, has now degenerated into permanent pillage by marauding bands of armed men.

In France, disillusioned former sympathizers with Third World struggles are swelling the ranks of the Realpolitik cynics and anti-Soviet fanatics. The most delirious ideological ranting comes from ex-Maoists such as Jean-Pierre Le Dantec, former director of *La Cause du Peuple*, who wrote a long think piece in *Le Monde* tearing into "totally obsolete anti-colonialism," "anti-Reagan blindness" and "ritual condemnation of American imperialism" for weakening resistance to Libyan expansionism and Soviet imperialism.

Le Dantec predicted a "real war" for France in Chad such as Britain had to wage last year in the Falklands. "For one dares not think that France could give up wanting to influence the fate of the Third World—and of first concern, Francophone Africa—by letting Chad fall into the hands of the Hitlerian dictator of Tripoli," the former Maoist revolutionary wrote. "At stake is the credibility of a whole ambitious policy intended to be an alternative to both totalitarianism and to unbridled free enterprise. At stake is the whole democratic culture invented by Europe...."

Most of the French have kept cooler heads so far. A poll published August 16 showed 53 percent opposed to sending paratroops into Chad against 28 percent in favor and 19 percent with no opinion.

In recent years, many thinking Africans, seeing the inability of armed struggle to solve basic problems, began to pin their hopes on the sort of reformism advocated by the Socialist International. The American bullying of Mitterrand also seems calculated to shatter that last hope.

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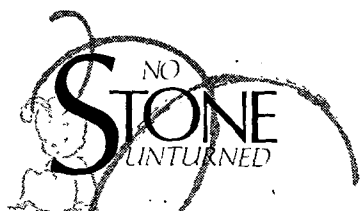
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As many women of the early women's movement come of age, child care and child raising are becoming



This is the sixth in a series of articles on the women's movement.

Series editors:
Roberta Lynch and Emily Young

Photograph by Hazel Hankin

Bringing Up Baby

By Mary Ellen Schoonmaker



THE ISSUES OF and child rearing have been at the heart of the women's movement. In the 1960s, though, they had more negative than positive connotations. A great deal of the energy of the '60s was spent on fighting for reproductive rights, while, children themselves were the problem, rather than the conditions under which they were raised.

Some feminists in the militant childless—"they free"—and looked down on children as less liberated. Motherhood was a trap, a ground fenced in by shadows as conveyed in a bitter poem, *Motherhood Is Powerful*.

The trap was not made of iron but it took the early feminists to realize that. Motherhood in male society, had to be redefined. At the end of the debate, feminist Mary Firestone argued in *Of Sex* (1970) that biology was a trap and betrayed women. At the end, Jane Alpert, wrote in *Underground to Ms.* magazine that the nurturing associated with mothering was one of the very sources of women's oppression. "Mother Right" letter among feminists: it drew more than any article Ms. had.

"Motherhood is the burden to bear children; no more woman angrily wrote. 'Our identity, our strength, our tool to free us from male oppression, we must not believe that we must not ourselves in the guise of pro-patriarchal role.'"

Another woman was more moderate. "Mother Right is good," Father Right is a fact. Mothers and must bear full re-

central feminist concerns.



liable, quality day care has proven largely elusive. While private, often over-priced sources of day care have risen to meet middle-class needs, the inadequacy of public day care remains an outrage. The Children's Defense Fund, a child advocacy and lobbying group in Washington, D.C., reports that perhaps six to seven million children, including many preschoolers, may be left at home alone while their parents work because they can't afford day care. Many poor children are left in dingy ghetto storefronts that are both unsafe and illegal.

"I can't think of another human service with so widespread a demand and so little attention," says Dana Friedman, a family and work policy consultant in New York.

There are many reasons why more success can't be reported on these fronts. After three failed attempts in the '70s to enact national child care laws, child care advocates say the issue came to be seen as a political loser. That image has been bolstered by tough, well-organized opposition to large-scale federal involvement in child care led by "pro-family" groups such as Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, fundamentalist church groups, conservatives and private day care interests opposed to federal regulation.

And while a large coalition of women's, labor and civil rights groups fought for child care legislation, the battle for shared parenting was being fought at home, in little two-by-two skirmishes. Many of the most active feminists were young, single and childless, or middle-aged with older children; the mothers of small children had little time to spare for liberation. It's only in recent years that many of those early feminists, in their 30s now, have decided to have children and come to realize that it's as easy as ever to fall into the oppressive patterns they rallied against a decade ago.

"We haven't gotten very far," said one feminist friend. "We didn't work it out well. And it's the most important issue: who is taking care of the children?"



In 1970, the White House Conference on Children named quality day care the number one need of American families and children. The next year Congress passed the first national child care program in U.S. history, only to see it vetoed immediately by President Nixon on the grounds that it would undermine the family. That program, sponsored by Walter Mondale in the Senate and John Brademas in the House, would have provided child care free to the poor and on a sliding scale to middle-income families. It was a direct outgrowth of the new-found political strength of the women's movement, which had pressed for government-sponsored child care as the most equitable means of allowing both married and single mothers some measure of economic and personal independence.

The 1971 legislation was the closest this country came to a national child care program and the closest the women's movement—with its visions of all kinds of child care arrangements, from women's communes to community cooperatives—came to uniting behind a single child care goal.

Rochelle Beck, a former policy analyst for the Children's Defense Fund, has said the legislative failures gave child care the image of a losing issue in Washington, and that both politicians and advocates

shifted their energies to priorities that seemed easier to attain. The National Organization for Women (NOW), for example, threw its weight behind passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and gave much less attention to child care issues. Adrienne Leaf, who headed NOW's Child Care Action Committee for four years until last December, said that as an unpaid volunteer, she was able to set up contacts on child care with NOW local groups in only 12 states, and she has since lost track of even them.

Meanwhile, the need for day care became evident as more and more women with children entered the paid labor force. Until 1975, the Census Bureau did not even report labor force data for mothers with children under age three. By 1981, 47 percent of those mothers had jobs. Now, close to 40 percent of mothers with children between the ages of six months and one year are in the labor force, which means that 7.5 million infants and toddlers have mothers who are employed or who are looking for work.

What day care is available to these women and to the millions more with school-age children needing care? There is a patchwork of private, non-profit, church-sponsored and home care programs that no one has been able to accurately measure. Family day care, or home care, is the largest segment, yet only 6 percent of those homes are state licensed, that is, eligible for federal aid and subject to inspection and regulation. It is believed that more than three million children use home care full time and another two million part time, the greatest portion under three years old.

Private chains do very well. Kinder-Care Learning Centers, Inc., the largest day care chain in the country, did not exist 15 years ago. Today more than 750 Kinder-Care bell towers dot the highways of middle-class suburbs with names like Apple Valley, Minn. All Kinder-Care children paint on the same washable walls, nap in the same round plastic beds and learn the same letter of the alphabet each week. Mass-produced child care nets Kinder-Care and nine other chains more than \$100 million in revenues each year.

In the burnt-out section of Brooklyn, N.Y., however, there is another kind of day care "chain." Hand-printed "day care available" signs can be seen in dingy storefront windows where inside children are crowded into makeshift centers that are both unsafe and illegal. These underground centers are used by parents whose dismal incomes make them ineligible for federal assistance, but who cannot afford the full cost of quality care themselves. Their only other options are to leave the children alone or go on welfare.

As for federal assistance, it is unfairly divided along class lines, and in whatever form, always inadequate. The federal government spends more than \$2 billion annually on child care programs created in the '70s. While this jerry-built system is better than nothing, much could be improved. The largest federal subsidy is the child care tax credit, which allows taxpayers to write off between 20 and 30 percent, depending on income, of child care costs: up to \$2,400 for one child and up to \$4,800 for two.

However, this method of financing, which cost the government \$1 billion in 1980, does nothing to create new programs or ensure quality care; what's more, it benefits most those who need it least. Those with incomes too low to pay taxes or to itemize their tax returns get no credit, and efforts to make the credit refundable so that poor families could re-

Continued on page 22

CHILD BEARING have always been a part of the woman's life. In the beginning, more negative feelings. For feminist energy in gaining abortion rights. And for a few years were seen as in the oppressive of their mothers

In the late '60s were called it "children on those with than themselves. a cage, a play-erp black spikes, poem in *Sister-*

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ore sympathetic. she wrote, "but en make babies sponsibility for

them. It is their right and their biology."

It was not our biology that was causing the problems. The trap was—and is—the fact that women in our society have primary, often sole responsibility for child care, and this at the expense of much of the rest of their lives. The early women's movement rightly saw the sentimental trappings surrounding motherhood, the moral arguments about women's inherent capacities for self-sacrifice, as simply the means to the end of keeping women at home and dependent, sexually and economically, on men.

Since the early days of ambivalence toward motherhood, the overall goal of the women's movement has been a quest for equality—to take the oppression out of mothering, to join "mothering" to "parenting," and for those who choose to have children to share parenting with men and with society in general. Looking back over the past 20 years, it seems as if these goals have been among the hardest for the women's movement to reach.

If men did equally share in parenting, it would mean profound changes in the basic structure of work of the family. It would mean trading places with women part of the time. Many men have found it easier to share power with women on the job than they have in the home. Even though millions of mothers with infants and toddlers now work outside the home, many women still do the bulk of the housework, make most of the dinners and put the children to bed. These women are called "jugglers" and "super-moms," terms that are supposed to evoke admiration for their inexhaustible energy. These labels are just expressions of male approval, meant to compensate for the overlooked fact that "the new fathers" are not doing a whole lot to help their wives, especially when it comes to compromising their own careers.

As for child care outside the home, the seemingly simple concept envisioned by the women's movement of accessible, re-

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

SOUR GRAPES

I'M GLAD THAT BILL PERRY, THE SUBJECT of "Communications break down" (ITT, Aug. 24) is on our side. I guess. That is, I guess he's on our side and I guess I'm glad. Pardon me, though, if I have my doubts about a man who's moral imagination still leads him to boast: "I probably could have sold you on the idea of nuclear weapons—I probably could have sold anybody on weapons. I was really good at it." Well, I don't know if Perry had it in himself to sell nuclear powered refrigerators to Eskimos (no slur intended on any Inuit readers), but he seems to have done a fine job of selling himself to Charles Varon and to *In These Times*.

Bill Perry's accomplishments at Livermore hadly sound that awesome. Training a cadre of reverse Frankensteins—technicians into media stars—is nothing new. NASA's been at it for years with the astronauts. That's serious stuff. We just might get one of them for president and you don't get much higher on the charts than that.

If Perry's clamber over the wall didn't exactly deal the death stroke to Livermore's propaganda activities, one wonders too just what it brought to the freeze. I have never heard Bill Perry speak, so I've nothing to judge by other than his remarks as Charles Varon quotes them. I do not feel very enlightened to hear that "there are an awful lot of nice guys at Livermore...bent on scientific excellence." I don't doubt that there are, but I also don't doubt that there are an awful lot of guys there bent by power, prestige and big bucks. Secondly, the debate over the politics and morality of nuclear weapons has been raging among nuclear scientists themselves since at least the end of the Second World War. People at Livermore can stake out any position they want in it, but claims of ignorance are scarcely to be believed. And lastly, while Perry's analysis of American character may tell us something about Bill Perry—was it

actually spoken seriously?—"We Americans are a very trusting people...." it hardly adds to our understanding of American political economy or the place of the individual in it.

Well, then, that's on the positive side of the balance sheet. For debits we have name-dropping (I especially liked Martin for Dr. King), self-inflation (most of the article, but my favorites were the parts about being a Greenwich Village poet and dating an actress), compound self-delusion (since King was dead and hence unable to lead a demonstration at Livermore, Perry had no dilemma about which side he was on) and vituperation (the reference to Dr. Helen Caldicott still reads that she's "a hysterical woman," though she might have something interesting to say. Someone owes her an apology).

In These Times is too precious and limited a resource to squander it on stuff like this. Next time you get a submission like the Bill Perry piece, send it along to *California Living*.

—Nathaniel Wander
Del Mar, Calif.

LOVE IT

HERE IS A BIRTHDAY GIFT FOR A Liberal. He can use some ITT. Why do you advertise gift subs with the letters "ITT"? Bad connotation—or an attempt at cuteness? Ya gotta love the lefty press, I'm thinkin', or ya can't love at all.

—Frederick Brock
Los Angeles

ANTIDOTE

IN THESE TIMES IS GREAT! IN MY OPINION, the best antidote to apathy and pessimism is the kind of journalism *In These Times* delivers to its readers. In the August 24 issue I especially liked the articles by Bertram Gross (Perspectives: "Stealing Reagan's thunder") and Diana Johnstone's book review of the weaponry problem. Her revelation that the Berlin Wall is not perceived as that great victory that our propagandists

want us to believe is an eye-opener. On the contrary, Johnstone warns us, politics, not threats of nuclear homicide, is what the German people want—and for that matter all peoples. Bertram Gross offers needed specific strategy for the peace movement. We must take the offensive, we must act and not react only if we are to count, for a world is watching us. And our increasing numbers do count in our political world.

I am a new subscriber and proud to count myself a part of the democratic fraternity that seeks to save our nation and the world.

—Rubin Falk
Asheville, N.C.

925

I WAS HAPPY TO SEE YOUR ARTICLE (ITT, July 27) concerning the assault of union busters on the new wave of clerical organizing, especially in response to District 925, Service Employees Union. But the article ends leaving the impression that management at Equitable Life Assurance Society has "stymied" the efforts of District 925.

As the article states, we won the election at the Syracuse branch office of Equitable, the nation's third largest insurance company, a year and a half ago. Despite an order to bargain by the National Labor Relations Board, Equitable continues to refuse to recognize our union.

In response, District 925 has mounted what's turning out to be a very effective national boycott of Equitable, endorsed by the AFL-CIO. Several unions have already cancelled health and welfare plans or stopped doing other business with Equitable, involving many millions of dollars. Many other unions and women's organizations are taking similar action. It's exciting to see this great source of economic power of the labor movement mobilized in a battle against the insurance industry.

Insurance is a competitive business. The bad reputation Equitable is earning through this boycott will plague it for years to come. That's why we are confident District 925 will be recognized by Equitable and will win a fair contract. We know the rest of the insurance industry is watching. A victory here will help pave the way for further organizing throughout the insurance industry.

—Karen Nussbaum
President, District 925, SEIU

ABORTION

I HAVE BEEN WATCHING YOUR LETTERS column to see if any outraged women would complain about Chuck Fager's coverage (ITT, June 29) of the abortion issue. Several women have written and I want to tell them that they are missing a vital piece of information about Fager. He is on the advisory board of the right-wing Prolifers for Survival.

You owe your readers an explanation.

—Jo Maynes
Seattle

Editor's note: We publish articles by authors with a variety of views on the left, including on the question of the right to abortion. Chuck Fager is on the advisory board of Prolifers for Survival. So is Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J. We have frequently stated our position on abortion. It is that each woman must have the right to choose whether or not to have an abortion, and that the operation should be covered by Medicaid.

SALVATION

IN RESPONSE TO THE ADVERTISEMENT by one Jocelyn Tyler (ITT, July 27), as well as others who have recently expressed the need for a third party (e.g., Michigan Democratic Rep. John Conyers), there is already an opposition third party. A party whose membership is about 20,000 and was able to accumulate more than 225,000 votes in the 1980

election. A party that already has ballot status in 12 states. A party with 11 office holders nationwide. A party that represents the people and responds to their needs. A party that offers an alternative to the policies of nuclear insanity. A party that offers hope for the next generation of Americans. A party whose past is rooted in the traditions of hope, prosperity and equality. Of course, I refer to the party that is truly a "grassroots" party: the Citizens Party.

The Citizens Party exemplifies what a true America should stand for: human rights both internationally and domestically, peace and disarmament now, democratic control of economic priorities and a sane development of the environment. The Citizens Party stand for a government that offers solutions to our problems. Solutions that put people before profits. Solutions that involve people in the decision process. The Citizens Party stands for common sense in this era of irrationality.

I say, let's build our own party now! A party made up of working people, women, minorities, environmentalists and the aged. A citizens party! Let's get on with the job of rebuilding America.

—Bill Yates
Seattle

IRAQ-IRAN

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, WHICH, according to the State Department, has claimed from 175,000 to possibly half a million lives, will be three years old in September. Iraq is seeking to end the war because it has spelled economic disaster for the country. On the contrary, Iran is critically dependent on war which serves as a distraction from internal purges and the rule of firing squads and hanging judges over the people and revolutionary forces.

The U.S. has formally declared its neutrality but holds a blissful silence over arms shipments—without which the war could not continue—to Iran by Israel and to Iraq by France.

The Iranian army is American made. It could not continue without Western arms for three years. The U.S. favors a controlled war of attrition between the two peoples: it would keep Khomeini in power for more execution of revolutionaries and physical destruction of any revolutionary alternative while preparing for the return of a client regime as a result of mass discontent with the unbearable status quo.

Therefore, Khomeini's warmongering to export his reactionary caliphate must be exposed and fought by all means possible as the principal opposition force of Iran—the Mujahedin—have declared.

—William McGregor
Chicago

NAMES

YOUR RECENT EDITORIAL ON Central America (ITT, July 27) was excellent. There are many of us in Arkansas that depend on *In These Times* for the truth we can't get from any other source. We've been fighting since 1979 to tell Arkansans the truth about the struggle there. The only mistake was the Democrat from Arkansas is Rep. Bill Alexander (not Anderson). Rep. Alexander has become one of the leading critics of administration policy in Central America and there are many of us who think he has the potential to be another J. William Fullbright.

—John Marable
Little Rock, Ark.



Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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STD1

PERSPECTIVES



Boston: a choice for a change

By Peter Dreier

BOSTON

IN THE BOSTON MAYORAL PRIMARY October 11, nine candidates are seeking to succeed the retiring incumbent Kevin White. Their house signs and posters create a colorful crazy-quilt pastiche across the city. But two candidates pose a special dilemma for many, as the Meredith household in the highly politicized working-class neighborhood of Dorchester illustrates.

Judy Meredith, a lobbyist for the Coalition for Basic Human Needs, Massachusetts Tenants Organization, ACORN and Greater Boston Legal Services, lives on the second floor of a three-story house with her husband Peter Ryder, an ACORN organizer. Her daughter Nancy, also a lobbyist, lives on the third floor. Judy has a "Ray Flynn for Mayor" sign on her porch. Nancy has a "Mel King for Mayor" poster outside her apartment. The family still hasn't agreed which, if any, sign will go on the front lawn. "There're only two people in this race worth voting for," Ryder explained, "and we're on both sides."

Ray Flynn is a 43-year-old white working-class "populist" from South Boston. Mel King is a 54-year-old black socialist from the South End. Odds are good that one of them will place second in the primary and face current frontrunner David Finnegan, the downtown business-sponsored candidate in the November run-off.

Flynn is currently a few percentage points ahead of King. The latest neutral poll gives Finnegan 24 percent, Flynn 21 percent and King 15 percent. But there are still many undecided voters, among them many on the left, caught in the cross-fire among friends and political allies. These voters, in deciding between Flynn and King, may well determine the

outcome of the primary and Finnegan's opponent in November.

The problem for the left of choosing between Flynn and King was symbolized in mid-July when Boston's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) split down the middle on a mayoral endorsement. That both Flynn and King are strong contenders to be Boston's next mayor is a hopeful sign for the left, but it poses strategic questions for Boston's often fractured left community. Many people have asked me why, as a socialist, I and so many others on the left are supporting Flynn when a black socialist is in the race. I answer that the central issue in this election is who can best heal Boston's economic, racial and social wounds following Kevin White's 16-year control of City Hall. White oversaw a dramatic downtown redevelopment that has turned Boston into a city dominated by high-rise office buildings, luxury condominiums and fancy hotels, made possible by generous tax breaks to developers.

But White's neglect and mismanagement of education and housing has forced both the schools and public housing into court-ordered receivership. And competition for scarce resources has pitted neighborhood against neighborhood, the gentry against the poor and black against white.

Boston has a long history of racial turmoil. The 1974 federal court-ordered busing for school desegregation ignited bitter violence. Racial incidents still occur with shameful frequency. Blacks are afraid to travel in many white neighborhoods. It is not unusual to see fewer than a dozen blacks at Red Sox games in Fenway Park.

Mel King's supporters believe he is the perfect candidate to begin the post-White period. For 25 years King has been in the forefront of battles over housing, jobs and urban renewal. After losing three races for School Committee in the '60s, he was elected to the state legislature in 1972 from the South End, a racially mixed neighborhood facing the pressures of gentrification. As a legislator, King sponsored bills such as a state agency to fund non-profit businesses and the nation's first law divesting state pension funds from American corporations in South Africa. But he usually remained outside the give-and-take of legislative maneuvering. He helped organize opposition to downtown projects like the \$500 million Copley Place, promoted urban gardening, fought for a policy to increase minority hiring in downtown construction projects and often appeared at gay rights and Third World liberation rallies. In 1979, King ran for mayor, finishing third

in a four-way primary with a surprising 15 percent of the vote that included white left support.

Flynn's background is more complex. A native of low-income Irish South Boston, the son of a longshoreman and a cleaning woman, Flynn was an All-American basketball star at Providence College. Later, he just missed making the Celtics, worked as a high school teacher and probation officer, then turned his sports-hero celebrity status into a politi-

cal career. He served in the state legislature from 1971-78, generally representing the views of his South Boston constituents. He supported unions and tenants, fought redlining, airport expansion and welfare cutbacks. And he advocated more state funding for special-needs schoolchildren. He also co-sponsored a bill to end government-funded abortions and opposed busing.

Elected at-large to the Boston City
Continued on following page

*Who can best
heal Boston: a
white Irish
populist or a
black socialist?
The city's left
must decide.*

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Continued from preceding page

Council in 1978, Flynn began a transformation from a parochial South Boston pol with left leanings to a crusader with citywide appeal. As Flynn visited an endless number of neighborhood meetings across the city he saw similar problems facing residents in black, white and Hispanic poor and working-class neighborhoods. He became the hardest working City Council member, sponsoring legislation and pulling strings to help tenants in public and private housing, public and private sector unions, welfare recipients and working women. In the 1981 City Council elections, he was the leading vote-getter by a wide margin.

When White announced last May that he wouldn't seek re-election, amid charges of corruption and patronage abuses in the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times*, the race for mayor became a free-for-all. The potential for an issue-oriented campaign, rather than a personal attack on White, was heightened by the entrance in the race of both King and Flynn, who have, in fact, set the agenda. As the candidates of the left, they've made downtown-vs.-the-neighborhoods the primary theme, forcing three middle-of-the-road candidates (former City Councilor Larry DiCara, City Councilor Fred Langone, ex-deputy Mayor and CIA official Robert Kiley and Sheriff Dennis Kearney to endorse a mild version of "linkage," requiring downtown developers to put money into neighborhood improvement and rehabilitation of abandoned housing. (Two fringe candidates, Eloise Linger of the Socialist Workers Party and Michael Gelber, a backer of right-wing Lyndon Larouche, are also in the race).

King and Flynn both support strengthening Boston's weak rent control and condo conversion laws, encouraging neighborhood crimewatch groups, targeting public funds to low-income areas, passing a commuter tax, using block grants for job training and providing adequate child care.

With their anti-establishment records, neither Flynn nor King can expect to get much support from the business community, especially real estate developers

(who dominate campaign contributors) and the "Vault" (the city's 30 business leaders, dominated by bankers, insurance and utility executives). A winning campaign for Flynn or King depends on getting support from the grassroots. So, for many on the left, the question is who can best put together a multi-racial coalition that could not only place second in the primary but also beat Finnegan in November?

Flynn has so far shown the most momentum, garnering support from many groups that King had hoped would back him. The city's leading tenant advocate, Flynn earned the endorsement (by a three-to-one margin over King) of the Boston Tenants Campaign Organization. The Hotel, Restaurant Workers Union, a predominantly black, Hispanic and female union under new militant leadership (*In These Times*, Jan. 26) is supporting Flynn, as are the Machinists, Clothing Workers and other unions. The Boston AFL-CIO's political action committee voted to endorse Flynn—the first time it had ever endorsed in a preliminary election. Although Massachusetts Fair Share doesn't endorse candidates, most of its leaders are behind Flynn. The *Boston Observer*, a liberal monthly, surprisingly gave Flynn the nod in July.

King also failed to get the Gay and Lesbian Political Alliance's backing despite his record of gay rights support. But King did win the endorsement of both ACORN and Local 1489 of AFSCME, which represents many Boston City Hospital workers. Both are predominantly black organizations.

Flynn has surprising strength among minority and feminist activists. Margaret Morrison, a lifelong Boston resident and president of the all-black Roxbury Fair Share chapter, went with Flynn because "he's always been there when we need him" on housing, arson, crime and other community issues. "Ray's the candidate who can bring people of all races together," she says.

Flynn's opposition to busing causes suspicion in some quarters of the black community, Morrison acknowledged. But Flynn usually wins them over at neighborhood meetings and house parties.

"Some people think that if you're from South Boston, you must be a racist," Morrison says, "but Flynn's taken a lot of political and personal risks fighting for racial justice."

Flynn opposed busing in the mid-'70s on the grounds that it pitted poor and working-class blacks against poor and working-class whites, providing both with inferior educations. He said it was an issue of class, not race. The affluent could move to the suburbs or send their kids to private schools—and still sound liberal.

Flynn refused to join such militant anti-busers as City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks and state Sen. William Bulger in a statement of resistance with racist overtones. While parents and schoolchildren were hurling rocks at black students, Flynn was walking the streets, urging an end to the violence.

For these and other activities, Flynn has alienated some of the more extremist elements in his native South Boston, some of whom have circulated anonymous fliers in white neighborhoods labeling Flynn a "nigger lover." His car was fire-bombed and his family received death threats over the phone.

Feminists, like Nancy Snyder, 9to5 staff director, scrutinized Flynn carefully before jumping on the bandwagon. At a two-hour meeting of women's activists with Flynn, says Snyder, "I went in a skeptic and came out a believer." In his five years on the City Council, she adds, "he's had lots of opportunities to impose his personal beliefs about abortion but he never has. He's never interfered with the rights of city employees to have an abortion or tried to stop Boston City Hospital from performing abortions."

Flynn and King have generally avoided criticizing each other and focused on Finnegan. But in recent weeks, with the gap between them widening (they were neck-and-neck in June), King has started to attack Flynn, particularly for saying that the problems in black Roxbury are the same as those in white South Boston (both low-income neighborhoods) without using the word "racism" to describe Roxbury's additional burden.

King has also accused Flynn supporters of "racism" for suggesting that King will lose to Finnegan if he gets into the run-off. That, they say, is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

"That's just guilt tripping," says Judy Meredith. "I'm for Ray because I think he'll make a better mayor. He can speak to people that Mel can't, and he can bring them along. What Mel's saying is politi-

cally correct. But what good is it if people aren't listening?"

King's supporters are split between those who think he can win and those who think King's campaign is important primarily for its symbolic value. As a result, the campaign has still not gotten into high gear, lacking strong precinct-level organizations not only in white working-class neighborhoods, but also in some black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

Although King's campaign draws obvious comparisons to Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities where blacks have recently triumphed in citywide races, Boston's demographics make such comparisons questionable. The city's black population, though growing, still comprises only 17 percent of all voters—less than half the number in Chicago and Philadelphia. (Hispanics account for another 4 percent.) Although blacks have mounted a voter registration drive—which included a visit from Chicago's Mayor Harold Washington in early August—it is not as successful as the Chicago drive that gave Washington his margin of victory. And while King is clearly the favorite within Boston's black community, he cannot expect to get the same high percentage of the black vote that Washington and Goode enjoyed. (In his 1979 mayoral effort, King received only 55 percent of the black vote.)

King's slogan—"Vote for What You Want, Not for What You Think You Can Get"—hints that a vote for Flynn is a vote for pragmatism over principle, for short-term victory over long-term movement-building. But most of Flynn's supporters not only view Flynn as a candidate who can win, but also as one who can pull left forces into a permanent coalition.

Dom Bozzotto, elected president of the Hotel Workers' union after leading a rank-and-file revolt, believes "Ray is the only candidate who can bring this city together racially."

Whatever the primary outcome, the two campaigns will come together to defeat Finnegan in the run-off. Four years, or more, of the business-sponsored Finnegan would exacerbate the gnawing problems of poverty, racism and social tensions.

Peter Dreier, author of *Who Rules Boston?* (available from DSA, 145 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111), was a founder of the *Massachusetts Tenants Organization*. He is a member of the *National Executive Committee of the Democratic Socialists of America*.

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PERSPECTIVES

Nicaragua through Sid's lens

By Sidney Lens

THE SANDINISTAS IN Nicaragua are grateful to Cuba for a hundred and one reasons. Before coming to power in July 1979 they received training and arms from the Havana regime. Since then, thousands of Cuban teachers, doctors and technicians have helped the Nicaraguans implement health and education programs, plan their economic future and improve their military capability.

But the FSLN (Sandinista Front for National Liberation) wants at all costs to avoid the Cuban road to socialism. It does not want to become part of the Soviet bloc. And though its leaders admire Fidel Castro they do not want to be Fidelistas, much less Moscow-oriented Communists.

There are two reasons for this. The first and lesser one is the Sandinista leaders, though many are Marxists, are not particularly enamored of Communists. They recall that the Nicaraguan Communist Party flirted briefly with Anastasio Somoza when the dictator seemed to be taking a "liberal" turn, and that the Communists originally opposed guerrilla warfare. They also remember that when they, the Sandinistas, were on the verge of taking power, the CP met with Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo and several rich Nicaraguans in a vain effort to put together a government that would have appreciably reduced the power of the FSLN and retained in power part of Somoza's National Guard.

The second and more important reason is that Cuba was forced to pay a fearsome price for having made a revolution Washington disapproved of. If it were not for the economic embargo imposed on Cuba by the U.S. and the enlarged military machine it had to build to defend itself, pro-Reagan sources believe, the standard of living of the Cuban people would have been 50 percent higher than it is today.

Before 1959 Cuba sold most of its sugar—82 percent of its exports—to the U.S.; now it had to find new markets, primarily in the Soviet bloc. Previously it could get parts for its sugar mills overnight from Miami; it had no need to warehouse them; now it had to order them from afar, wait longer and build warehouses to stock an adequate supply. Foreign loans that used to be easily available when Batista was at the helm dried

up. All of this translated into severe hardship for the Cuban people: shortages of goods, long lines for food, poor transportation, deterioration of housing and other problems with which our press regales us constantly.

The Sandinistas want to avoid this travail for their people, who have already suffered enough—20,000 killed, 50,000 injured, 200,000 left homeless in the 1972 earthquake, 40,000 killed, 100,000 wounded and \$4 billion in wealth lost as a result of the 1977-79 civil war. They have no love for the U.S. They remember that American Marines occupied their land from 1912 to 1933, then imposed the Somoza family dictatorship that ruled the nation for 43 years with Washington's blessings and connivance. The result was a land-poor or landless peasantry, staggering poverty, infant mortality nine times the U.S. rate, 50 percent illiteracy, abominable housing conditions (in Managua, the richest city, 80 percent of the population lacked running water).

But despite that, the Sandinistas do not want to break their ties with the U.S. They want to continue trading with the West and borrowing dollars from its banks. They want to be non-aligned, part of the North-South axis, not the East-West conflict. "Our desire for better relations with the U.S. is a practical one," says FSLN spokesperson Jose Pasos, "just like everything else about us."

The Sandinistas are pragmatic people more than ideologues, and everything about them reflects their goal of non-alignment. They did not limit their forces during their long ordeal to ideological soul-mates; and as they coalesced with other elements, most notably from the Catholic Church and the business community, they broadened their horizons to include those of their partners.

Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, one of the four priests in the government, explains how Christian leftists and Marxists blended their efforts: "We [in the Church] are definitely influenced by Marxist thought.... Marx helps us understand the connection between liberal philosophy, capitalism and imperialism...." But, he adds, "a process of renewal in the Catholic Church" after Vatican II—the emergence of "liberation theology"—had an equal impact in the late '60s. The example of priests working on behalf of the poor affected students, who thereupon "went to the mountains and joined the Sandinista Front.... Comandante Daniel Ortega [coordinator of the junta]

says that he went to the revolutionary struggle because he understood that was what was demanded if he was to be faithful to Christ."

The ideology of the Sandinistas reflects their alliances—with the Church, the capitalists, middle-class nationalists, peasants, laborers. As Sergio Ramirez, one of the three junta members, explained it to me, it is a melange of Sandinista nationalism, Marxism and Christian humanism or Christian communism, "a philosophy all our own."

Comandante Jaime Wheelock, in a new book, *The Great Challenge* argues that Nicaragua is not ready for socialism. Its classes are immature and unprepared for that. There is no true capitalist class, he notes, since only 20 companies employ 50 or more workers, whereas 15,000 artisan shops each employ five or less. To expropriate the capitalists under these circumstances, Wheelock says, makes no sense. It would not lead to socialism but to chaos. Until the various classes mature, he states, Nicaragua needs a mixed economy.

What the Sandinistas desperately seek is production, not ideological purity. If a large landowner produces commensurate with his potential they allow him to continue operations, in fact encourage him. It is only if he allows his land to lie fallow or lets his machinery deteriorate through lack of maintenance or secretly ships his dollars out of the country, that the government seizes his holdings. The same is true in industry. Thus 60 percent of all property, urban and rural, still remains in private hands. The rest is either state-owned, as in the case of the two million acres of land seized from the Somozas and their allies, or in cooperatives.

The three principles that currently guide Nicaragua—mixed economy, pluralism, democratic elections—are not ruses to confound Ronald Reagan, but a natural result of the nation's evolution and hopes. "We have never had a democratic election in our whole history," says Ramirez. "We expect to have one in 1985 after the ground is laid for it—not to satisfy others, but ourselves."

The pluralism of the revolution has been whittled down to an extent in the last year, but not because the Sandinistas want it that way; they are at war, both on the military and economic front, and, like all governments in wartime, they are restricting democratic prerogative.

But virtually all political parties, including opposition parties such as the old

Signs proclaim "no contradiction between Christianity and the revolution."

Conservative Party, are permitted to operate. (One of the junta members, in fact, comes from the opposition Conservative Party.) Private speech also remains fairly uninhibited. There are no disappearances or assassinations as in El Salvador, Guatemala or even in Honduras and Mexico. According to a North American nun who heads a human rights organization, there are few political prisoners except for the 2,500 Somocista national guardsmen still in jail, and no claims of torture as in neighboring countries.

Yet there has been a curtailment of democratic freedoms since the U.S.-sponsored invasion by the "contras." The right to strike has been abolished and censorship imposed on the press. Anti-government actions are not permitted.

U.S. economic pressure since Reagan took office—a cut off of \$112 million in credits, drastic reduction of sugar quotas, curtailment of the sale of computer parts, the closing of a large U.S.-owned banana company and pressure on international agencies to withhold loans—has caused shortages and imbalances. From the *Miami Herald* to the *New York Times* these difficulties are pictured as an inevitable result of the revolution, or "Communism." But they are not. It is as if Reagan, having broken a man's legs, berates him for not walking properly.

The revolution actually has shown exemplary humanistic impulses. A million people, including older illiterate Nicaraguans, are attending some kind of school. At a meeting of peasants near the Honduras border I spoke with a 26-year-old woman who was attending the same class as the oldest of her five children. Medical care is free and total. Vaccination has stamped out polio in the last 18 months and improved medical facilities have reduced malaria and measles by two-thirds.

Vast amounts of land have been distributed to the landless. Fifteen or 20 miles north of Chinandega, where the government was giving land titles to hundreds of peasants formed into cooperatives, I spoke with 11 farmers who had had their holdings seized by Somoza 12 to 25 years previously and were now having their land returned.

The significance of the Sandinista revolution is as an augury of the future of all of Latin America. The trend on this hemisphere is suddenly leftward. A military government has been replaced by a civilian one in Bolivia—for a change. Massive strikes threaten the dictatorship in Chile. There are strikes and protests in Argentina, Brazil, Peru. In May and June of this year there were 5,000 strikes in Mexico, the largest number in recent memory.

We are certain to witness more such social upheavals—and in each instance young revolutionaries seeking their own road to power and developing their own political principles. As each revolution matures it will have to deal with hostility from Washington, and try—as Nicaragua is doing—to avoid the fate of Cuba. Those on the U.S. left, if they are to help each developing nation achieve its own destiny, will have to divest themselves of the "yes-but" attitude many have today.

If Nicaragua teaches us anything it teaches us that there are a hundred roads to liberation, and that the fate of revolutionary nations is not always in their own hands but as often as not in the hands of great powers that refuse to relinquish their hold. If the U.S. should increase military pressure on Nicaragua, by sending in Honduran troops and perhaps American flyers and marines to help the lagging contras, the Sandinistas will have to turn to the Soviet Union for increased support. Their pluralism will then go by the boards and the Communists, who now play an insignificant role, will become dominant in Sandinista ranks. Ronald Reagan—and other one-dimensional anti-Communists—will be able to say, "See, I told you so."

Nicaragua needs the full support of American leftists, not only to prevent a new Vietnam, but because it is a genuine revolution, the kind non-sectarian socialists have been talking about for ages. ■ *Sidney Lens is an associate editor of The Progressive.*

The Forties

By Edmund Wilson

Ed. and introduction by Leon Edel

Farrar, Straus & Giroux,
369 pp., \$17.95

By Dan Lazare

Edmund Wilson's career as a literary critic, journalist, historian, short-story writer and playwright spanned five decades. He was dissolute during the Jazz Age, left-wing during the Depression, retiring and shy of political involvement after the war. As a mirror of his age, though, he was—to his credit—less than perfect.

He never entirely caved in to the hedonism of the '20s and chided F. Scott Fitzgerald for his "childlike" self-infatuation. He criticized the Communist Party from the left in the '30s, and never degenerated into a Stalinist cheerleader along the lines of Ernest Hemingway, Malcolm Cowley, Granville Hicks or Lillian Hellman. He moved increasingly to the right in the '40s and '50s, but still made a point of denouncing Joe McCarthy in print. Wilson had his faults, but his performance was a good deal better than most of his literary contemporaries.

The publication of the third volume of Wilson's diaries, *The Forties*, gives a fuller picture of the century's best known American literary critic in transition from the Depression to a very different post-war world. It is the period immediately following publication of *To the Finland Station*, which stands as an example of both the best and the worst in American leftist thought. Thereafter, as the diaries show, Wilson retreated from politics and burrowed more deeply into purely literary studies.

Wilson raised detachment to the level of obsession.

He bought a house on Cape Cod and took up the life of the aloof country gentleman. It was also about this time that he resigned his position on the *New Republic*, at least in part because of the increasingly obnoxious Stalinism of then-editor Malcolm Cowley, and took up residence at the apolitical, bourgeois *New Yorker*.

The '40s and '50s were Wilson's most productive period, but they also represented something of a decline. Certainly, the outpouring of books and articles was enormous, among them his Freudian literary study, *The Wound and the Bow*; the slightly gothic short stories of *Memoirs of Hecate County* and the study of American Civil War literature in *Patriotic Gore*. But at the same time, the high moral fervor that filled *To the Finland Station* (1940), his impressionistic history of modern socialism, was clearly running short. Wilson's literary wanderings consequently grew increasingly random, quirky and planless. His political judgments became more and more cranky and unreliable—for example, his assertion in *Patriotic Gore* that slavery had little to do with the Civil War or that Southern segregationists were justified in resisting the incursion of federal authority.

INPRINT

DIARIES

To the Cape Cod station: a critic's retreat

All this was not entirely Wilson's fault. A good deal of the blame lay with history. Most of the leftist veterans of the '30s had expected the coming decades to bring more of the same—more depression, more dictatorship, more class polarization. Like George Orwell hard at work on 1984 in his outpost in the Scottish Hebrides, they were girding themselves for the coming battle. Instead, they found themselves stranded in the prosperous, conservative, politically conformist post-war society—a world in which all the noble old controversies among socialists about capitalism and Stalinism suddenly came to be seen as out-of-date and somewhat silly.

A statesman of letters.

Wilson's response to this unexpected turn of events was to drop most of his radicalism and to try to carve a role out for himself as a kind of post-war literary statesman and freelance professor emeritus. He was only partly successful in this. The *New Yorker* provided him with an important literary forum, but he also took a beating at the hands of the New Critics who had seized control of the universities and—under the influence of T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and the Southern Agrarian literary school—were turning out mushy paeans to the artistic virtues of feudalism and the Southern plantation system. To the New Critics, Wilson was a popularizer, a journalist, a middle-brow—anything but a genuine literary critic. Wilson's judgment of the new age was contained in a letter on the occasion of Orwell's death in 1950:

"I was awfully sorry about George Orwell," he wrote. "I had a feeling that he wouldn't last, as if the things he represented were doomed to fade away, and it is disconcerting to have it gone."

The tendencies in Wilson that became so pronounced during and after the war were also evident in *To the Finland Station*. The book is a collection of the kind of full-blooded, dramatic intellectual portraits that were his specialty: Marx laboring mightily over his economics and philosophy while his family is destroyed by poverty; Engels struggling to escape his domineering bourgeois father, only to be ensnared by the even more domineering Marx; Lenin fearing as late as January 1917 that the Russian Revolution would never come, then gripped by terrible excitement when word arrives of the overthrow of the Czar; Trotsky's fire and brilliance nurtured and shaped by years of imprisonment, exile and political debate.

Wilson's achievement was to rescue a tradition of revolutionary politics in danger of suffocating under the weight of Stalin's anti-Marxism. But he also revealed himself as a literary dilettante with more intellectual sweep than conviction. His criticism of "the myth of the dialectic" (a very trendy point of view in the late '30s and early '40s) now seems shallow and old-hat. His suggestion that Hegel's thesis, antithesis and synthesis derived from the ancient and

from Marx a sense of the interrelationship of all things and a passion for explaining those interconnections. What he failed to pick up, though, was the working-class perspective that enabled Marx to view history as a vast historical drama leading to an inevitable climax.

The result was a series of literary studies in which detachment was raised to the level of obsession. Wilson's viewpoint, never terribly warm, becomes increasingly chilly and distant after the '30s. In *Memoirs of Hecate County*, he is the country gentleman looking in on a collection of neurotic, unpleasant neighbors reminiscent of Sherwood Anderson's parade of grotesques in *Winesburg, Ohio*. *Patriotic Gore* deals with the very different subject of Civil War literature, but the view of the Abolitionists and Radical Reconstructionists is similarly jaundiced. The struggle could not have been about slavery, he insists, because it was really about the import tariffs that Northern manufacturers wanted to promote industrialization, but which the Southern cotton growers opposed because they would disrupt their profitable relationship with the textile manufacturers in the north of England.

and more personal, with great amounts of space given over to detailed accounts of love-making and dry, school-book descriptions of the Cape Cod countryside.

The only thing notable about these endless, baroque sentences about Cape Code is their overripe sexual imagery: "The lady's slippers were out, sprinkled so sparsely around the brink of their solitary flowers—deepening in a couple of days from flimsy stooping ghosts as pale as Indian pipe to a fleshy veined purplish pink swollen between pigtailed and curling topknot that also suggested Indians; and along the white sand of one side, where the bowl of the pond shelved so gradually, the little white violets with their lower lips finely lined as if with beards in purplish indelible ink...."

And on and on for perhaps a dozen lines more.

Wilson also reveals himself as a bit of a snob in a diary entry about the Tanglewood music festival in 1949 in which he lets drop a snide crack about "middle-class tourist campers who had heard that the Berkshire Festival was something that they ought to take in." Contact with British army officers in Italy in 1945 is the trigger for a re-



Writer Edmund Wilson with his wife, novelist and critic Mary McCarthy, in 1942.

partly sexual fascination with triangles and trinities now seems positively bizarre.

Especially telling, however, was his complaint that Marx allowed his political passion and outrage to compromise his scientific objectivity. It is the special failing of the liberal to confuse objectivity with detachment since it assumes that only those people with the wealth and social position to stand slightly apart from society are capable of understanding it. Wilson immersed himself in Marxist literature for years in preparation for *To the Finland Station*, even traveling to the Soviet Union in 1935 to work at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow—but he never became a socialist.

Wilson agreed with bits and pieces of socialism, but thought it was unnecessary to compromise one's intellectual independence by actually enrolling in a political movement. He got

Like Marx and the dialectic, all that blather about the evils of slavery and a God who has "loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword" was, in Wilson's skeptical eyes, simply so much empty propaganda designed to lend a "pseudo-moral" air to what was really a naked struggle over economics.

It is interesting that, despite his professions of detachment and objectivity, Wilson's vision grew increasingly clouded during and after the war. The diaries from the '40s shed new light on the evolution of Wilson's post-war persona. A good deal of his diaries from the '30s, for instance, is devoted to his famous fact-finding trip to Harlan County, Ky., in 1932 where the mine owners and the local police had instituted a reign of terror to break a coal strike. The 1935 journey to the Soviet Union takes up another large chunk. The '40s diaries, on the other hand, are less political

markedly sustained outpouring of anti-English venom. While in Rome, Wilson pays a visit to the philosopher George Santayana and, with typical floridity, reports, "a sort of sacred awe at seeing him, in his little room: a shell of faded skin and frail bone, in which the power of intellect, the colors of imagination, still lived and gave out, through his books and through his gentle-voiced conversation, their vibrations and rays...."

For Wilson, Santayana represented the kind of serene intellectual detachment that he so much admired. It is telling, however, that in his account of the meeting, which takes up nearly a dozen pages in the diaries, there is not a hint of irony concerning the fact that Santayana at the time was a supporter of Mussolini who had passed the war in Rome in the soul-satisfying, but not uncomfortable asceticism of a Catholic convent.

LABOR HISTORY

Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics

By Leon Fink

University of Illinois Press,
249 pp., \$22.50

By David Brundage

Concentrating on the historic failure of the American working class to build an effective anti-capitalist political party, observers on the left have tended to judge the American labor movement harshly in comparison with its European counterparts. Leon Fink, in this important new book, reminds us that this has not always been so. In the 1880s, Friedrich Engels, Eleanor Marx and other commentators looked to the American labor movement as an example worthy of emulation by Europeans. They did so mainly because of the dramatic rise of an important mass movement, the Order of the Knights of Labor.

The Knights of Labor began as a secret society of Philadelphia garment cutters in the late 1860s. It was one of the few labor organizations to survive the cataclysmic depression of the 1870s and, following a series of highly publicized railroad strikes in the early 1880s, emerged as the first mass organization of the American working class. In 1886, the organization had more than three-quarters of a million members.

Skilled and unskilled workers, black and white, men and women, all rallied to the banner of the Knights. Mainly as a result of a counterattack by business interests, the Knights declined rapidly in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Nevertheless, as Fink notes, "not



Officers of the Knights of Labor gathered around a portrait of the group's founder, Uriah Stephens.

The Knights of Labor: an early experiment in working-class politics

cal arena.

The electoral activities of the Knights have frequently been taken as a sign of weakness—their inability to win struggles in the industrial arena. According to some historians, their form of

a series of case studies in working-class politics in Rochester, N.H.; Rutland, Vt.; Kansas City, Kan.; Richmond, Va.; and Milwaukee, Wisc. These case studies are bracketed by interpretative essays at the beginning and end of the book that attempt to locate the Knights in the broader context of American social and political history.

The local character of the Knights' politics created considerable diversity in the programs of the various parties. But the unifying thread was a fundamental critique of capitalist society: above all, the Knights stood for the destruction of "the wages system" and its replacement by what they called a "cooperative commonwealth." In their boycotts and strikes, in their efforts to build alternative institutions such as cooperative stores and factories and in their political activities, the Knights of Labor steadfastly rejected the ideology of individualism that was central to expanding American capitalism.

But even though this was a new idea, the workers who built the third-party movements of the 1880s believed themselves to be upholding something old: the republican foundations of the American nation. The early American republican theorists held that a nation's political liberty depended on the economic independence of its citizens. Carrying on in this tradition, the contribution of the Knights was to show that capitalist development itself was undermining this independence—it was impossible for "wage slaves" to be full "citizens."

Using the language of the early republicans was a source of strength for the movement because it had powerful reverberations in traditional American political culture. But the language also served to limit the Knights. When they approached

time. In both places, the process of understanding the power of the state was a long and complex one. Only with the emergence of the social democratic parties at the end of the century did European labor move toward a more "positive" notion of state power. This did not occur in the U.S.—according to Fink—not because of any fundamental American "uniqueness," but simply because the labor movement had been drastically weakened.

Local case histories.

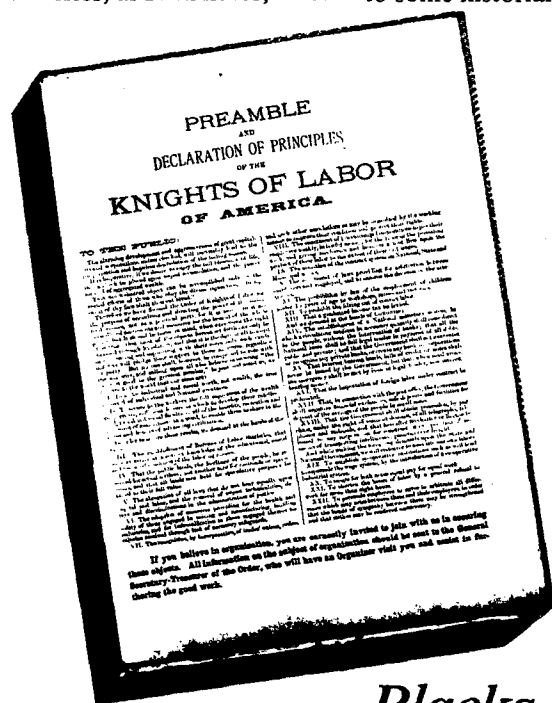
Fink also highlights, in his studies of the two New England towns, Rutland and Rochester, the role of workers' political initiatives in breaking down the rule of local elites and in introducing something resembling two-party competition. This was hardly the cooperative commonwealth that the Knights of Labor had envisioned, but it did represent a "social compromise" in which working people gained some political influence.

The chapter on Richmond indicates how this process of social and political change could go a step further. Here the efforts of black workers within the Knights forced the political movement to take an interracial stand in stark contrast to the racism of the Democratic Party. Fink shows that the eventual defeat of the Knights in Richmond (and by implication throughout the South) was disastrous, leading directly to a trade union movement that based itself on notions of white supremacy.

The chapter on Milwaukee is of particular interest because of the power that the Socialist Party held there in the first three decades of the 20th century. Fink clearly shows that these political upheavals of the 1880s prepared the way for later Socialist dominance. But he also argues that the greater ideological sophistication of the Socialist party may have been illusory. No longer based on a powerful working-class movement as were the Knights, the Socialists were free to practice a kind of middle-class reformism clothed in Marxist rhetoric.

Fink's book has only one ma-

Continued on page 23



until the Congress of Industrial Organizations revival of the 1930s would the organized labor movement again lay claim to such influence within the working population."

The Knights were notable, among many other things, for their active participation in electoral politics. The organization never attempted to build a national third party and only in the 1890s (when it was well on its way to extinction) threw its lot in with the farmer-led Populist movement. But in the mid-1880s, at the height of their influence, Knights of Labor throughout the nation built a wide variety of locally-based third parties. In more than 200 towns and cities, "Workingmen's," "United Labor," "Union Labor" and "Independent" parties emerged to carry the Knights of Labor's programs into the traditional politi-

*Blacks, whites,
men, women
rallied to the
Knights' cause.*

political action revealed how out of touch the leadership of the Order was from its working-class rank and file. But Fink argues conclusively that political action emerged as a significant part of industrial conflict and was not the product of the Order's domination by ambitious politicians or naive reformers—it was central to the Knights' history.

Rutland to Richmond.

Because the Knights' political struggles were played out at the local level, Fink's book appropriately takes the local context as its focus. The heart of the book is

ABSCAM! JOHN HINCKLEY!
WATERGATE! JEAN HARRIS!
BRILAB! KATHY BOUDIN!

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ART»ENTERTAINMENT

NOT A DOCUMENTARY

Triumph of the willing conformist

By Pat Aufderheide

Woody Allen has made an artistic career out of what costs most people doctor bills. He has taken the most ordinary and pervasive pathology of our era, narcissism, and made it comic art—or rather, the longest-lived one-liner in film comedy. *Zelig* is his latest and possibly most elegant variation on this theme.

Zelig pretends to be a documentary of the life of "Human Chameleon" Leonard Zelig (Allen), once famous and now forgotten—the news fad of the Roaring '20s. It does so with elaborate and meticulous filmic skill; the pseudo-documentary—using rare archival footage that is doctored, through clever technical feats (editor Susan Morse should get an award, and probably will), to insert Allen and other characters. Supplementing this footage are interviews with leading figures from Allen's intellectual landscape (Susan Sontag, Irving Howe, Saul Bellow), who cheerfully play along with the filmmaker's game.

Walking identity crisis.

What Leonard Zelig was famous for was complete amorphousness. He was a walking identity crisis, a man so desperate to be liked and so self-hating that he took on the characteristics of the person he was talking to. He became fat, Chinese, black, a psychiatrist...he was a magician of conformity. In fact, as Bruno Bettelheim says mock-sagely, "He was the ultimate conformist."

Interned in a hospital, Zelig became the victim of every latest medical theory and technique. But then psychiatrist Eudora Fletcher (Mia Farrow) made a professional reputation by proving that his disorder was psychological. She fell in love with him, and after rescuing him from the consequences of his many obliging personalities (among other things he married several women and joined up with the Nazis), married him. They lived happily ever after. Zelig was cured of a larger-than-life insecurity by the love of a good woman.

This is familiar Woody Allen territory—the theme of the outsider's love-hate relationship with WASP America. (Remember way back, with *Take the Money and Run*?) This time, though, the wit is more refined, the concept more demanding, the product more elegantly worked.

Time and success have taken some of the shock out of Allen's style. The sting is still there, but it's delivered with the kind of perfectionism that in *Manhattan* cloaked his savaging of love among the urban professionals. The quality of his mother jokes are a good indication of what passes for maturity when a crisis goes unresolved. He gets in a couple of zingers about controlling Jewish mothers, but his best ones hit obliquely. For instance, an interviewer asks the now-famous Eudora Fletcher's mother,

who is an aristocratic WASP, to tell him about the sacrifices she made in raising her daughter. "Sacrifice, there was none," she says briskly. Wasn't she happy her daughter grew up to be a doctor (that universal Jewish mother dream)? "No, I thought she'd grow up to be an airplane pilot like her sister," the mother replies coolly. Allen also sprinkles the film with in-jokes both visual and verbal, letting them loose instead of hitting the viewer over the head.

Zelig is wildly popular in Woody Allen's target audience, the professional class standing on the outer perimeters of power in America. Allen is the voice of the underdog, but speaking the language of the intelligentsia. In *Zelig*'s mimicry of every American subculture except the threatening and attractive WASP ideal, Allen recasts the contours of social injustice as a national neurosis.

Why is this so funny? Maybe Allen is striking a nerve. He certainly hits on a topical subject, in



(Above) Three of a kind: Coolidge, Zelig and Hoover; (right) Mia Farrow as Zelig's psychiatrist.

MOVIES

How to succeed in Pittsburgh



Jennifer Beals plays a spunky welder who dreams of dancing ballet.

By Pat Aufderheide

There is a proud-to-be-sleazy air to *Flashdance*, a style that parades itself as an act of authentic working-class culture. This substitution of form for content gives the movie both its surface

pizzazz and its underlying emptiness. Like a sugar high, it brings you up just to let you down.

The movie, which has become a nationwide hit not only in the movies but on the streets—the heroine's ripped T-shirts have now supplanted the taste for French-cut models—gives the

old Horatio Alger theme a New Wave look. A young Pittsburgh welder (Jennifer Beals) has a passion for dance; while performing nightly in a lowlife nightclub, she dreams of ballet. But she's too intimidated by the local repertory company's snobbish atmosphere to apply for training, until a grandmotherly mentor pressures her, and her boyfriend—boss by daytime, lover by night—pulls some strings.

Conquering her resentment at this infringement on her independence, she performs improvised disco gyrations before the ever-so-proper repertory judges. Disarmed by her intuitive artistic truth and her populist gutsiness, they accept her on her own terms. Inserted into this pull-yourself-up by-your-leotard success story are hypnotic sequences of bodybuilding and knock-out club numbers.

A sentimental projection.

Flashdance is sensational, an adjective it works hard to earn. And it has generated much critical flap. But it's hard to get a take on the film—there is so little there. The narrative will not withstand close scrutiny—it's been scrubbed clean as a suburban shopping mall of any specifics in character or situation. At first the wretched dialog, silly plotting and pathetically inadequate acting look simply like a job poorly done. But as scenes take on a comic book quality, one finds some utility in the sloppiness. Empty of depth and definition, the characters and crises can be fleshed out with each viewer's most sentimental projections.

In fact the story must stay vague to make the movie work,

because the dream it retails is patently unrealizable. The heroine has her cake and eats it too, in work and in love. Just as she brings stripdancing to the hallowed dance hall, she brings lusty appetite to a restaurant with tablecloths. She's even something of a missionary, bringing vigor to the propriety-ridden world of bourgeois culture.

The secret of working-class vitality here is sexual openness. (Is this the white urban version of blacks' superiority in singing and dancing?) This working girl dances dirty and talks dirty and still is pure at heart. "Will she or won't she" has nothing to do with sex (in that regard, she will, but only for love; it's so right she doesn't even have to confess it to her priest). It has to do with conquering her inferiority complex. She has fear-of-success bad—but the chip on her shoulder is also her badge of integrity.

Class without compromise.

It's a rare Hollywood movie that even addresses the existence of class, much less the culture of class, and this one acknowledges it with a vengeance. More traditional is what it does with that information. Elitism, class inferiority and guilt make grist for personal conflict, but disappear conveniently at the story's resolution. *Flashdance* pretends that you can have it all—you can leave home and stay there too. A plucky, lucky girl can stay true to her class origins and still be upwardly mobile. In fact, culture is not an expression of a social relationship at all, but an acquired possession. Mastering the gestures that accompany the exer-

a nation so mass-culturized that you can't even give someone directions without saying, "And then you'll pass a McDonald's." Underneath a standardization marked by such items as *Time* magazine, *Dallas* and the latest publicized Reaganism—all of them instantly digested and as instantly forgotten—there does exist an indigestible loneliness, an alienation that the manufacture of mass-cult symbols just won't satisfy.

And Allen eagerly makes comic hay from that fact. Zelig's pathology feeds this mass-cult habit. When he changes from one personality to another, the public eagerly seizes on the latest novelty, making him into a man for all symbols. He turns into a national fetish object, as American ingenuity transforms him into dolls, stuffed animals, games, songs and jokes. Then, of course, the public forgets him; he drops out of history.

Thus the bitter joke of making Zelig into a historical documentary. The dull familiarity of the format—those shots of flappers and street scenes overlaid with pompous narration—makes a perfect foil for the disappearing-man story. In the end, American history is subsumed into the neurosis of Leonard Zelig. And then it's simply erased. He lives

happily ever after—forgotten.

Woody Allen may consign Leonard Zelig to fairy tale oblivion, but he does not intend to do the same himself. His way out of the identity crisis he finds at the core of mass culture is Serious Art. That's what Zelig intends to be, underneath the silliness. And if you don't think Allen is a real thinker, he has lined up all those New York intellectuals—I mean, gee whiz, Susan Sontag *goofing off!*—as testimonials. Insecurity runs deep.

Each culture gets the comedy it deserves, and Zelig belongs to us. It is witty, cruelly perceptive and also bleak—the only hope Zelig has is to escape society altogether.



Photo: Warner Bros.

cise of power will let you enter the middle-class world without social compromise.

The slightest touch of reality intruding on this populist fantasy would shatter it; it's safer to let viewers fill in all the psychological gaps themselves. They are encouraged not only by the deliberately vapid plot, but by the bold ruptures in it. With sequences of flesh-in-motion and dance performance that divert attention with all the subtlety of an oncoming train, *Flashdance* makes a frontal assault on the senses. Only the barest link of plausibility connects these sequences to the story. They instead market raw sensation.

The movie doesn't simply use women's bodies as objects. It uses body parts, estranged from people in the same way that these characters are divorced from social relationships. Life-force pulsates here—those muscles wrapped in taut young flesh are hypnotizing—but it's not mixed up with anything messy, like real people living real lives. The performances, which evoke the mini-moods and mini-stories of MTV, turn women into hyperactive mannequins. (If the heroine doesn't quite seem herself in these sequences, no wonder—a stand-in did all the dancing. It's interchangeable parts brought to the movies.)

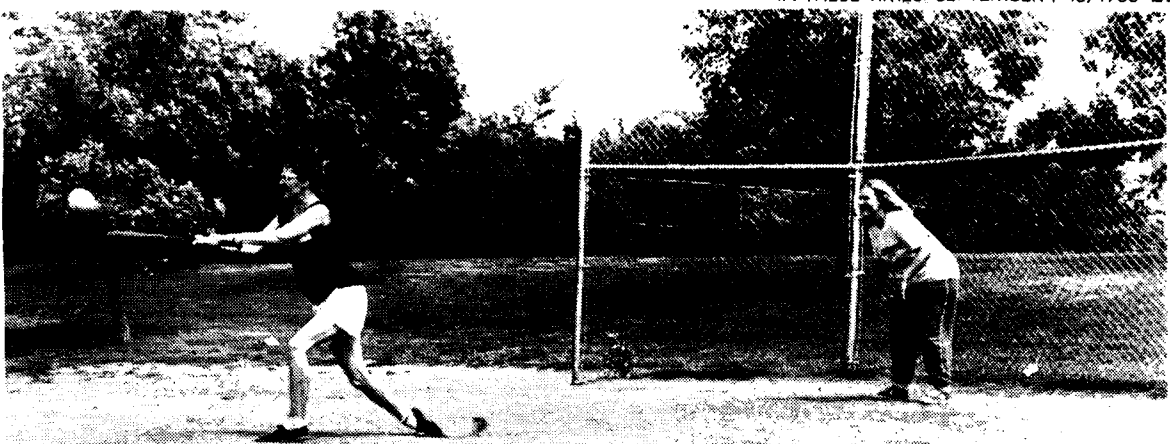
Flashdance turns Brechtian distancing technique on its head. These sequences unashamedly stop action, just as, say, a Godard film does. But where the rupturing moments in the ideal Godard film provoke the ideal viewer into critical thought, *Flashdance*'s dazzle engulfs and mesmerizes, pre-empting any nagging doubts about the movie's implausibility. It works well—the sequences, well-paced by the plugged-in sound of Giorgio Moroder's music, are galvanizing, the bodies beautiful and the dance routines enviable.

These parts of the film exploit

the almost religious worship of physical culture that is left to people who aspire to excellence in the absence of community. But *Flashdance* pushes commercialized obsession with personal appearance to the limits—a chilling thought, since popular films not only express but ratify attitudes and behavior. *Personal Best* was a boon to health clubs, and *Chariots of Fire* sent many a runner out for new shoes, but both inspired viewers to go out and do something as well. *Flashdance* inspires people to buy ripped T-shirts. And no wonder, since the movie is about effect, not substance.

Anybody in marketing will tell you that America has been built by selling the sizzle and not the steak, but there's something creepy about the way that *Flashdance* has made the anxieties of working-class culture into *bas couture* (or Everyman fashion). Surely some of its appeal comes from its playing on the hostility toward bourgeois culture at a time when upward mobility has become no more than a fantasy for many of us. But it seems almost cruel to capitalize on that anger. *Flashdance* seems to champion the underdog, but it also hypes into heroics the very insecurities that are scars left by elitism on working-class culture.

This cavilling may seem unfair, since, after all, the filmmakers are merely businessmen looking for a sure sell, not artists drawing a portrait of factory life in Pittsburgh. But just by doing what they do well, they not only sell tickets but also a notion of what culture is and can be. That is why I am less exercised about the question of whether the movie exploits women's bodies than I am about the fact that it so captivatingly turns all bodies and minds—all the physical and mental attitudes—in the movie into fashionable gestures, instantly transformable into commodities.



Paul Comstock

GAMES

By Josh Martin

If sports arenas and ball parks seem emptier this year, the explanation may be found in the workshops and showrooms of America's high-tech toy manufacturers. Despite the financial woes of industry giants like Texas Instruments and Warner Bros./Atari, computer games are more popular than ever. Indeed, a new generation of computerized sports games has arrived, and with it, a revolution in our leisure activities. Traditional sandlot baseball is losing popularity as millions of Americans turn to computerized entertainment, to play ball in video game arcades and on home computer systems.

Although it is safe to say that more people play baseball than play computer games, figures compiled by the Census Bureau and computer groups indicate that this situation could change dramatically by 1990. The number of home computers and computer games has grown at rates exceeding 100 percent a year, while the number of people playing baseball has remained stable or declined, hovering between 28 and 30 million. According to the Census Bureau, baseball isn't even America's number one sport. That honor goes to fishing, with more than 54 million citizens casting their lines. But baseball has been fortunate in that it hasn't experienced the sharp decline in players that has happened in tennis, down from 31 million players in 1978 to less than 25

Is Pac-Man our national pastime now?

million today.

Still, Americans are sports fanatics. Last year, we spent \$18 billion on sports equipment, ranging from jogging outfits and sneakers to fishing rods and football helmets. If we weren't playing, we were watching, spending \$2.5 billion for tickets to baseball, basketball and football games. A study commissioned by the makers of Miller Lite beer also found that almost 35 million Americans are "ardent sports fans"—people who watch sports events on television at least once a week. But the traditional importance of sports activities in American life is being challenged by the rapid growth in the popularity of computer games.

A whole new ballgame.

Last year, Americans spent more than \$3 billion for home computer game systems and accessories, up from only \$600 million in 1980. Another \$7 billion was spent on video arcade games. In its rapid growth, the video game industry has had its problems.

Americans spent \$7 billion on video arcade games last year, compared to \$2.5 billion for football, basketball and baseball tickets.



Computer games let us be both spectator and player, without any obvious physical strain, which may help explain their popularity. This year, as the baseball season enters high gear, fans can play ball electronically with new games from Atari, Mattel, Milton Bradley, Odyssey and other toy makers. The latest video games offer realistic action, soundtracks and voices. You can now talk with the animated players, directing the action with your voice alone. If you make a mistake, the umpire in several games will shout, "St-ee-ri-ke one!" or "Yer out!" It is a dazzling display of state-of-the-art technology.

Still, these games can't do everything like in real life, and sports fans may mourn the differences. Players never sense the physical strain and sweat that help produce the ecstasy of sandlot victory. Baseball fans won't hear colorful language when players disagree. And you'll never see a brawl at home plate. But game designers are working on it. They have video sports and X-rated games. They just need to combine the two. Next year could be a whole new ball game.

Josh Martin, a New York writer, writes frequently on technology issues.

Tom Ferenz

Children

Continued from page 13

ceive the subsidy directly have so far failed in Congress.

The other major federal child care subsidy is contained in the Title XX program created in 1974 as direct aid for low-income families. The program, which cost \$650 million in 1980, is administered through the states and based on income eligibility. A plan to help families attain economic self-sufficiency, it was intended to be administered on a sliding scale basis. But its benefits have been uneven at best. Only 28 states even used the sliding fee schedule; the other simply cut off eligibility at a certain point, often barely above poverty level. In some states, such as Montana, eligibility limits were found to inhibit many families from raising their incomes by as little as \$1,000.

Under Reagan, the inequities have worsened. His Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 expanded the tax credit, benefitting the middle class even more. At the same time, Title XX and other low income child care programs were slashed, Title XX alone by more than 20 percent. The Children's Defense Fund reported earlier this year that when Reagan cut Title XX, many states went right along with him, making funding cuts or limiting eligibility and depriving thousands of women and children of assistance.

Helen Blank, child watch director for the Fund, said the cuts at the state and federal levels in the last two years have had massive ripple effects on children, parents and programs: many children are being left alone or placed in substandard, even dangerous, care; many women have given up their jobs rather than leave children alone; many programs have had to close or cut back staff, or to seek only families who can afford the full cost of care themselves.

In other areas, some small progress has

been made. The workplace has only begun to be tapped for its child care potential. Feminists have been able to win better maternity benefits in some cases, paternity leaves and part-time options in others, although only about 400 employers around the country have any kind of on-site day care program.

While the vast majority of companies are not leaning in that direction, the often-cited argument that they do not have the resources does not hold water. A survey by the Administrative Management Society found that only 1 percent of 329 firms polled recently supported any kind of child care assistance for their employees. However, of these same firms, 48 percent supported alcohol abuse counseling for their workers, 52 percent supported company athletic teams and 17 percent said they paid for employee membership in country clubs.

Unions are just beginning to hear from their members about child care needs. Two locals of the Service Employees International Union, one in Boston and one in Los Angeles, were recently able to get child care issues on the bargaining table in negotiations with hospitals. Several employer-sponsored child care centers have been set up through the efforts of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union for the use of both workers and the community.

Bobbie Creque, co-chair of the coalition's Child Care Task Force, said a few unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) have always been leaders in child care and awareness is growing in others. Through bargaining, ACTWU has set up several day care centers in the Maryland area, Creque said, paid for largely by employers, and used by both union members and the community.

This year, the Coalition of Labor Union Women is setting up a clearinghouse on labor involvement in child care issues through the coalition's research and education center in Washington, D.C.

The future is far from bright, however. Child care advocates say 1984 could be a

turning point, although none of the Democratic presidential candidates has emphasized women's issues in their campaigns. Even the two candidates who sponsored child care legislation in the past, Cranston and Mondale, are not bringing it up now. Cranston's campaign is centered on the arms race, and Mondale has had little to say about child care in his speeches. "I haven't heard it discussed as a high priority," a campaign aide told *In These Times*.

While the early years of the women's movement were dominated by ambivalence toward mothering, a second wave of theorists have placed childrearing squarely at the center of feminist debate.

The only way to ensure that future generations will not face the inequities of the past, recent theorists contend, is to radically alter the structure of the family, replacing single-sex mothering with equal roles from both parents. Their path-breaking psychoanalytic studies provide a theoretical basis for such change: however, they offer little practical advice on how to go about it.

Dorothy Dinnerstein, author of *The Mermaid and the Minotaur* (1976), argues that unequal gender arrangements are at the root of all major problems in society, including all aggressive male dominion that is plunging us headlong toward annihilation.

The book is a psychological analysis of the problems that arise when women are the sole caretakers of small children. She argues that because mother is the first "other" a child encounters, it is she who the child must rebel against in order to become a separate entity. So mother—and female authority in general—become the target of the infant's rage and frustration in its crucial struggles to break free and assert itself.

Action and maturity become associated with the father, who becomes directly involved in parenting only after the child has started to resolve its early conflicts, and only after mother has become identified in its psyche with not only all that is good, but also all that is unreliable, uncomfortable and wrong with the world.

Her solution is unequivocally equal parenting by both men and women, and she believes we are at the right moment in history to make that profound change. "The necessary technological conditions," she writes, "The practical possibility of mak-

ing parenthood genuinely optional, the concrete feasibility of adult work flexible enough so that men and women can take equal part in domestic and public life are already available."

Additional psychological weight is given to the need for shared parenting in *The Reproduction of Mothering* by Nancy Chodorow (1978), who argues that single-sex parenting deprives boys of the potential to parent and causes girls to have less of a sense of self. Women end up "with needs that lead them to care for children, and men with capacities for participation in the alienated work world," she writes.

Exclusive parenting by women "creates a psychology of male dominance and fear of women in men. It forms a basis for the division of the social world into unequally valued domestic and public spheres, each the province of people of a different gender."

Calling parenting "one of the few deep personal experiences our society leaves us," Chodorow points out that many men are coming to regret their lack of extended connectedness to children. More men are also coming to value what many women have known all along are important: intimacy, relationships and care. In this light, shared parenting would allow both sexes to take part more equally in the worlds of work and love.

But how do we make it happen? While the theorists have defined the new focus, they offer no blueprints. And the danger in shifting this debate to an abstract level is that there will not be enough of a push for institutional and legislative change. Permanent changes in the home, in parenting arrangements, will not take place without changes in the outside world.

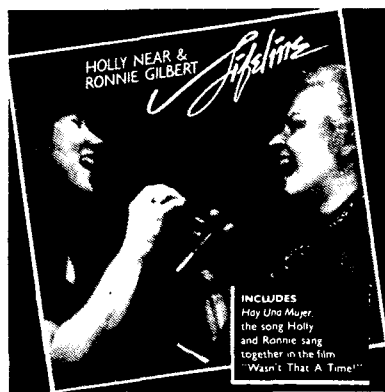
In most cases, economic necessity still dictates that men are the ones who continue working after a baby is born. But working women with small children have begun slowly to push for more flexible work schedules, more part-time and freelance jobs, more child care benefits.

The male-dominated labor movement could play a much greater role in making those demands, ensuring that no benefits and job security would be lost in the transition.

Unfortunately, instead of on the brink of being shared, child care is becoming more of a women's issue all the time. In *The Hearts of Men*, feminist Barbara Ehrenreich writes that men in recent decades have come to see themselves less as husbands and providers, and this drastic change has meant the collapse of the notion of long-term emotional responsibility to women. For this reason and for others, including the rise in teenage pregnancy and the economic restriction of the recession on the family, there has been a soaring number of single mothers, more desperately in need of child care than ever before. In 1980, two out of three adults living below the poverty line were women, and more than half the families defined as poor were headed by women. The number of households headed by poor women is growing at the rate of 15,000 a year.

Ehrenreich's solution is the creation of a "welfare" state, in the sense of a state

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committed to the welfare of all its citizens when they are unable to meet their needs themselves. She notes that the early feminist demands for child care and other social welfare programs, made originally at a time when such policies seemed reasonable, are even more valid and urgent now, when any expansion of government spending is viewed as "subversive to economic stability."

The task now is for the women's movement to find the practical means to attain those long-term goals: the leadership to shape our political demands and the energy to fight our domestic battles. New ways must be found to pressure government, labor and business into meeting our needs. Should there be another push for comprehensive day care legislation?

How can working women, now increasingly the target of union organizing drives, use that leverage to push for child care programs? How can family economic problems be resolved so that men are freer and more willing to spend time with the children?

Any assessment of the progress of a feminist vision of child care can only be taken as a renewed call to battle. So little has been gained that it seems fair to say that, far from having reached the second stage, we are barely a few steps ahead of where we started. This is only the beginning of the fight to require men and society—for they will not do it voluntarily—to take up their fair share of parenting and child care. What's past can only be prologue.

Mary Ellen Schoonmaker has written on women's issues for *Mother Jones*, *The Progressive* and *In These Times* and is raising a daughter with her husband.

Knights

Continued from page 19

jor weakness. Unlike earlier scholars who usually emphasized the forces that divided workers in the late 19th century, Fink stresses what they had in common. This is refreshing but it can lead to a neglect of the real ideological differences within America's multi-ethnic working class. German-American workers, for example,

who represented a large proportion of the labor force in this period, generally remained skeptical of the Knights of Labor. Many of them worked to build socialist or anarchist movements that sought either to capture or smash the capitalist state. Ideological conflict also occurred within the ranks of the Knights and had Fink chosen Detroit or some of the cities of the far West for analysis he would have been able to outline its contours without damaging his central thesis. But overall, Fink has written a fine book that gives voice to the working men and women who helped found the American labor movement.

David Brundage is a historian and writer on the staff of the *American Working Class History Project* in New York City.

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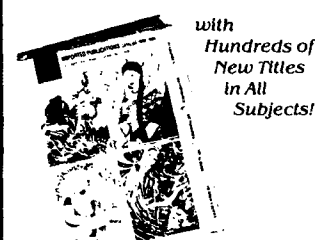
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Getting ripped



on the job



By Ben Hamper

NOW

WHERE WERE we before we were so rudely interrupted five months ago? (*In These Times*, April 27.) Ah yes, we were out there on Van Slyke Road in Flint, Mich., at that ultimate truck-stop diner known to all shop rats as the GM Truck and Bus Assembly Plant.

As for me, well, I'm back outside the shiny gate once again, shuffling around with my Michigan Employment Security card pinned to my raincoat. As history will note: hired in the boom of '77, laid off/on/off through the gloom of '82 and currently assembling nothing but blisters on the rump of '83. Four times in four years, burped onto the pavement, hand-delivered to an awkward limbo where the days lump together in one faceless herd.

Plenty boring? You bet. In fact, the only worldly plight possibly more outright boring than lugging yourself around in drowsy unemployment is to be back at work in the shop itself. Every true student of Humdrum 101 knows that it is far easier to handle a constant daily parade of nothingness, when it spreads itself out and expands forever, than it is when it rolls itself into tight, preappointed eight-hour balls of solid monotony.

Cerebral monkey bars.

As has been documented in the past, I have numerous ways of combating shop boredom. They include: dreaming up repulsive pizza options, re-arranging Burt Bacharach tunes into smut sonnets, spitting in the trash bin, elevating my job into some Olympic tussle, throwing bolts at mice, molesting Cheet-O's...well, let's just face it, I'll try anything!

Though my methods of stomping out tedium are clever and original (and soon to be patented under the title "Cerebral

Monkey Bars"), they are strictly minor league material compared to the old reliable in the Factory Solace Hall of Fame. I refer, of course, to a substance known as Alcohol. Its presence is every bit as representative of factory life as Grandpa's oily coveralls or a crumpled pouch of Red-man.

Without a doubt, lunchtime is the favorite occasion to go snagging for gusto. As soon as that lunch horn toots, half the plant puts it into gear, sprinting for the door in packs of three or four. I half expect one day to find Marlon Perkins propped up in a jeep near the gate, narrating this frantic migration: "Notice, folks, the fleet mobility of our subjects. The wide eyes and blank expressions are timeless clues that another pilgrimage to the watering hole is well underway..."

Cold quart comfort.

For 15 minutes or so a person can nurse her/himself back to comfort with a cold quart and a couple of laughs. Make no

mistake, this opportunity to bust open the monotony of shop-grind keeps a lot of people from totally cracking up, wearing out, mentally imploding or mutating into supervisor bullies. DeLorean himself proved that factory spuds can't live on black coffee and baloney alone.

Don't get the impression that I haven't, at one time or another, availed myself of the tempty charm found in a worktime cocktail or three. The problem for me with shop drinking is that it often defeats its own purpose. When I rush out to my car, camp my throat in a mess of suds, the last thing I want to do is return to the original source of my displeasure. I want to wheel that crate right outta the lot and rustle up some real fun, not go straggling back to an air gun that screeches like a million irate yellow jackets.

The whole procedure is about the same as combing your hair during a tornado. Why bother? When the whistle blows for the second half, you've still gotta go back in and perform the same robotic drudgery that smothered you the first time around. Except now you feel even more suppressed—you're all revved up with nowhere to go.

The first hour goes by quickly enough. You're half loaded and very chummy. But then as the next hour and the hour after that rear their stupid, ugly heads to snicker at you, the temporary whoosh of it all disappears and the monotony comes storming back. By night's end, you're

tired as hell and ornery enough to punch out Sister Theresa.

Whiskey's less risky.

Drinking right on the line is a different operation. Very few drink beer inside the shop for two simple reasons: (1) hardly anyone possesses a bladder strong enough to stave off the constant demands of nature; (2) it's awfully difficult to lug a six-

pack past the guards without raising big suspicions. Nope, the favorite line-time elixir is the half-pint of whiskey.

The pattern is to set up your own snug mini-bar clustered in a workbench full of tools, screw bins, stock cartons, cigarette packs, newspapers, styrofoam cups and motorcycle mags. As the workload creeps by your portable hacienda, you go about your chores, ladeling out an occasional highball. Sure, it isn't as glitzy as sitting in the crystal glare of your local disco, but it removes one layer of the snooze-time shellacking one receives in the shop.

As sure as God made little green apples and Mother Goose, he also made monotonous toil and tired brains. When confronted with hour upon hour of the same hypnotic haze, people will search for a way out. If they toss bolts at sneaky mice, they may need it. If they see a twinkle in a bottle, they may grab it. If they want to pretend that they're Jesse Owens of the assembly line, so be it. It's only when they stare straight ahead and accept it that you want to worry.

Ben Hamper, a columnist for *Michigan Voice*, was recently rehired at the GM Truck and Bus Assembly Plant.

